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EXEMPLIFYING MARKERS IN ENGLISH:

SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC CONSIDERATIONS

Paula Rodríguez Abruñeiras

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Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Facultade de Filoloxía

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Synchronic and Diachronic Considerations

Tese de doutoramento realizada por

Paula Rodríguez Abruñeiras

dirixida pola

Profa. Dra. María José López Couso

Autora

Visto e Prace da Directora

AUTORIZACIÓN DA DIRECTORA DA TESE

Dna. María José López Couso

Profesora do Departamento de Filoloxía Inglesa e Alemá

Como Directora da Tese de Doutoramento titulada

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Presentada por Dna. Paula Rodríguez Abruñeiras

Alumna do Programa de Doutoramento *Tendencias actuais nos estudos ingleses e as súas aplicacións*

Autoriza a presentación da tese indicada, considerando que reúne os requisitos esixidos no artigo 34 do regulamento de Estudos de Doutoramento, e que como Directora da mesma non incurre nas causas de abstención establecidas na lei 30/1992.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
AE06	*American English 2006*
AM	Appositional Marker
AmE	American English
ARCHER	*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*
BE06	*British English 2006*
BrE	British English
BROWN	*A Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English*
C	Clause
CMEPV	*Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*
CP	Complement of a preposition
DO	Direct Object
EE	Exemplifying Element
EM	Exemplifying Marker
EModE	Early Modern English
FLOB	*Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English*
FROWN	*Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English*
GE	General Element
HC	*The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal*
IO	Indirect Object
LModE	Late Modern English
LOB	*Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
NF	Normalised Frequency
NP	Noun Phrase
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PDE	Present-day English
PP	Prepositional Phrase
P1	Position 1 (EM before the EE)

P2	Position 2 (EM in the middle of the EE)
P3	Position 3 (EM after the EE)
S	Sentence
SPC	Subjective predicative complement
VP	Verb Phrase
Ø	Elided GE

1. INTRODUCTION

The notion of exemplification has been largely ignored in the history of grammar. The works which deal with exemplifying constructions usually make it in a very brief and concise way. Those works usually classify exemplifying constructions as a type of apposition, without referring to the significant differences which exist between both types of structures. The main goal of this doctoral dissertation is to fill the gap which exists in the study of exemplifying constructions, paying special attention to those forms used to connect the units in exemplification, i.e. exemplifying markers (EMs).

This study is divided into two main parts. The first part (Chapters 2 to 4) has a marked theoretical character. It provides a bibliographic review of different topics relevant to the understanding of the constructions under analysis. These include apposition (Chapter 2), exemplification (Chapter 3) and grammaticalisation (Chapter 4). Chapter 5, which is concerned with the methodology followed for the elaboration of this study, initiates the second part of the dissertation, which has a more empirical character and pursues a twofold objective. First, it aims at providing a description of all EMs in English (both current EMs and obsolete forms) using different dictionaries as a source of information (cf. Chapter 6). Second, it presents a corpus-based analysis of a selection of EMs, namely *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*, from both a diachronic (cf. Chapter 7) and a synchronic (cf. Chapter 8) perspective. The main points of this study are summarised in Chapter 9. In what follows, a more detailed description of each section is provided.

Chapter 2 describes the wider frame where the exemplifying constructions under analysis are included: apposition. Taking Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Meyer (1992) as a starting point, the complex domain of apposition is approached. My review on apposition starts by stating the relevance of a pause between the two units to distinguish apposition from other types of semantic-syntactic relations (see Section 2.2.1). In order to understand all the constructions described in the literature as appositional, some notions on prototypes and categories are also in order (cf. Section 2.2.2.2).

Chapter 3 presents a similar structure to Chapter 2. However, the focus here shifts to exemplification. As will become apparent from the discussion in this chapter, the list of references consulted for exemplification is rather short in comparison with that consulted for apposition. This is due to the scarce number of publications available to date on this subject.

Chapter 4 is concerned with a different topic: grammaticalisation. When an item undergoes grammaticalisation, it moves from lexical to grammatical or from less grammatical to more grammatical (cf. Kuryłowicz 1975 [1965]). As discussed in this chapter, grammaticalisation proves relevant to the changes undergone over time by *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in order to become markers of exemplification. The chapter starts with a review of the major approaches to grammaticalisation (see Section 4.1). Section 4.2 then discusses the different areas of language affected by grammaticalisation, including the semantic and pragmatic (cf. Section 4.2.1), syntactic (cf. Section 4.2.2) and phonological (cf. Section 4.2.3) components. Finally, Section 4.3 deals with the different phases of grammaticalisation processes which have been distinguished by Diewald (2002) and Heine (2002), and more recently by Diewald and Smirnova (2012).

In Chapter 5, the methodology followed in this piece of research is explained. The main source of information for Chapter 6 is the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*; cf. Section 5.1), the most important etymological dictionary of the English language. The data from the *OED* are complemented with those obtained from a wide range of present-day English (PDE) dictionaries. The *Middle English Dictionary (MED)* will also be consulted for the historical discussion. Chapters 7 and 8 offer a corpus-based analysis of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, respectively (see Section 5.2). *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal (HC)* and *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER)* will be the basis for the diachronic analysis provided in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, in turn, six different PDE corpora will be used, three of them representing British English (BrE), the remaining three containing American English (AmE) texts. Moreover, the two sets of corpora represent three different points in time: the 1960s, the 1990s and the 2000s. The PDE corpora used in this chapter are the following:

- *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB)*
- *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB)*
- *British English 2006 (BE06)*
- *A Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English (BROWN)*
- *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (FROWN)*
- *American English 2006 (AE06)*

After describing the material used, Sections 5.2.4 and 5.3 explain the procedure followed for the analysis of the data, as well as some of the main problems and difficulties encountered during the analysis itself.

In Chapter 6, Section 6.1 traces the origin of a number of PDE EMs (*including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *such as*, *say*, *like* and *as*) with the help of the *OED* and the *MED*. Here, the items from which these markers derive and their earliest attestations in the English language are identified. Other forms which were used as EMs in the past but which no longer exist in such a function in PDE are considered in Section 6.2. Taking into account various features (especially those of a semantic nature), a classification of current markers is proposed in Section 6.3. In Section 6.4, in turn, EMs are also classified, this time on the basis of the position which they can occupy in the exemplifying sequence. Finally, Section 6.5 outlines the potential combinations of two EMs in the same construction.

Chapters 7 and 8 constitute the core of this doctoral dissertation. They provide a corpus-based analysis of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as markers of exemplification, considering both historical and contemporary data. The choice of these four EMs is justified on the following grounds. On the one hand, I decided to analyse the use of *including* and *included* in order to find out whether or not there is any significant difference in the use of these etymologically related forms other than their position in the exemplifying sequence. On the other hand, *for example* and *for instance* have been chosen due to the obvious similarities between them: both EMs consist of the preposition *for* plus a noun with a similar meaning (the two nouns *example* and *instance* are synonyms in PDE). The closeness between the items which belong to the same set of markers (*included* and *including*, on the one hand, and *for instance* and *for example*, on the other) is indisputable. At the same time, the differences between the two sets are also important. As a matter of fact, *for example* and *for instance* are two of the most prototypical EMs, whereas *including* and *included* are clearly far more peripheral. In

other words, the selected sets of forms illustrate the most prototypical and the most marginal types of EMs.

The historical analysis of the four selected markers is carried out in Chapter 7. First, I consider how the exemplifying use of the markers *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* develops across time in relation to the purely verbal uses of *including* and *included*, on the one hand, and to the nominal uses of *example* and *instance*, on the other hand (see Section 7.2.1). With this aim, the total number of occurrences of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* provided by the historical corpora is compared with the actual number where these forms are used as EMs. In the second part of this chapter (Section 7.2.2), the diachronic development of each marker in different text-types is considered.

Finally, Chapter 8 focuses on the current use and behaviour of the markers *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. The analysis takes into account diachronic variation in PDE (that is, data from the 1960s, the 1990s and the 2000s are compared) as well as dialectal variation (i.e. BrE vs. AmE data). Then, I move on to the analysis of the four markers at issue. I start by discussing some potentially ambiguous cases and adducing reasons for their inclusion or exclusion from the statistical counts (cf. Section 8.1). A general overview of the markers in the two varieties of English from the 1960s to the 2000s follows (cf. Section 8.2.1). Next, I consider the combinations of markers found in the material analysed (cf. Section 8.2.2) and the arrangement of the general unit and the exemplifying unit in the sequence (see Section 8.3). The analysis of the syntactic forms which the units in exemplification take is the focus in Section 8.4, whereas Section 8.5 deals with the different functions realised by the exemplifying constructions found in the corpora. The use of punctuation is the focus of Section 8.6.1.

Closely connected with punctuation, Section 8.6.2 discusses the integrated vs. non-integrated character of exemplifying constructions. Finally, Section 8.7 analyses the use of the markers according to different text-types.

Chapter 9 closes the present study, with a summary of the most important points discussed through the different sections of the dissertation, highlighting the most relevant results obtained from the discussion of the material analysed.

"Beauty is in the eyes of the beholder" (proverb)

Apposition too

2. APPOSITION

The present piece of research does not seek to offer a thorough account of so-called *appositional constructions*. Rather, apposition is here a background notion necessary to understand the focus of this dissertation, namely exemplifying constructions. Therefore, only some basic concepts which have become recurrent in the treatment of apposition are discussed in the sections that follow. I start by referring to the controversy which accompanies this type of constructions, as evinced by the enormous lack of agreement when it comes to define what apposition is (cf. Section 2.1). Then, I pay attention to the main aspects which need to be considered when explaining apposition, namely the role of a pause in the construction (see Section 2.2.1), the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the units in apposition (see Section 2.2.2) and the markers used to link such units (cf. Section 2.2.3). Finally, Section 2.3 offers a brief summary.

2.1. The controversial character of apposition

Appositional constructions have been part of the English language from its earliest stages. They were already present in Old English (OE), being one of the characteristic features of the poetry of the time (cf. Lee 1952: 269 and Blockley 1989: 115, among others). Even though appositional constructions have received much attention in older grammatical traditions, especially in Latin grammars, they have been largely ignored in recent theories (see Taylor 2002: 235). Moreover, only those central or prototypical

cases of apposition are considered in these studies, while more marginal appositional types are left out of consideration. Such is the case of exemplifying constructions, the central topic of this dissertation. However, in spite of all the past and present works devoted to apposition, linguists do not agree on the definition of this type of construction. In fact, it looks as if there were as many definitions of apposition as linguists who have approached it. Some scholars refer to the deficiencies and problems of the definitions proposed by others, but their own descriptions are not necessarily more enlightening or convincing than those of their predecessors. Most of the literature on appositional constructions consists in chapters in descriptive grammars or articles in journals or conference proceedings. Few are, however, the works devoted entirely to the analysis of apposition, but even those do not seem to offer a satisfactory or definite approach to the topic. Meyer's *Apposition in Contemporary English* can be taken as a case in point. Published in 1992, this book is used by many authors as a seminal work on apposition. Although Meyer's monograph is definitely commendable in that it offers an exhaustive quantitative analysis of appositional constructions in three well-known PDE corpora, namely the *BROWN* corpus, the *Survey of English Usage Corpus* and the *London-Lund Corpus*, it does not go much beyond that quantitative and statistical analysis and some crucial explanations are occasionally missing. Due to these deficiencies, Meyer's work has also been the object of sharp criticism. Thus, Kortmann describes it as "a disappointment" (1994: 328) since it "offers much descriptive and statistical detail but contributes little to a better understanding of apposition. What the readers knew before, they know for sure; what was unclear remains just as unclear after having read this book" (1994: 323). After reading Meyer's definition of apposition, one cannot but agree with Kortmann:

> Apposition […] is best viewed as a grammatical relation that stands in opposition to relations such as complementation or modification. The relation of apposition is realized by constructions having specific syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics that both define the relation of apposition and distinguish it from other grammatical relations. (Meyer 1992: 5)

In Meyer's view, apposition can only be understood by opposing it to other syntactic relationships, which shows that for him apposition denotes everything in grammar which is neither coordination nor subordination (cf. Acuña-Fariña 1999: 64). Therefore, in spite of Meyer's promising words in the preface to his book ("In this book, I attempt to clarify the confusion surrounding the category of apposition by both defining apposition and detailing its usage in computer corpora of spoken and written British and American English", Meyer 1992: xiii), he eventually fails to provide a satisfactory definition of the subject. His definition is, according to Schneider (1995: 208), based "upon weak foundations". Schneider claims that "there is no discussion of any theoretical framework; a number of important notions remain unclear [...] and even the resulting definition of apposition itself as 'a grammatical relation having realizations with specific syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics' is not very telling" (Schneider 1995: 208). Schneider's words could actually be applied to most studies devoted to apposition where the authors' promises to provide a definitive definition of the category do not meet the readers' expectations.

The constant association of apposition with such disparate areas as coordination, subordination, juxtaposition, modification, complementation and attribution, among others, makes of the term *apposition* an "umbrella term" (Hyland and Tse 2004: 157) used to bring together all those structures for which no other analysis is in principle available. The association of apposition with all these areas emphasises the lack of

agreement and consensus when it comes to defining this "obscure notion" (Acuña-Fariña 2006: 1) in English grammar. Schapiro (1977: 16) alludes to the ambiguous character inherent to apposition by pointing out its partly semantic and partly syntactic nature. It is precisely the heterogeneous nature of the constructions usually described as appositional what makes this category so problematic and difficult to handle. Although grammarians take into account recurrent criteria in order to characterise apposition, these criteria do not always coincide. In point of fact, apposition is often defined by a relation of resemblance between several constructions, but no property is actually inherent to the category itself (cf. Matthews 1981: 235 and Acuña-Fariña 1999: 62).[1] As a result, the category of apposition ends up being too vague and sometimes even meaningless. This is the reason why some scholars even deny the existence of apposition (cf. Pignon 1961: 192 and Longrée 1987: 199).

2.2. What is apposition?

In this context of multiple interpretations of the concept of apposition, the approach undertaken in this dissertation needs to be clarified before proceeding any further. In my view, apposition is a type of semantic-syntactic relationship between two units which have the same referent and carry out the same function. These units, noun phrases (NPs) in most cases, are separated by a pause in speech (represented by different punctuation marks in writing) and can be linked by means of an appositional marker (AM). The first

[1] Section 2.2.2.2 below provides a brief review of the notions of categorisation and prototypes, which are of enormous relevance in order to understand the different types of constructions classified as appositional.

unit, or *anchor*, is syntactically dominant over the second unit, or *appositive*, which is somehow detached from the sentence. The appositive never delimits or restricts the meaning of the anchor; it only explains it. In addition, the units keep a high degree of autonomy, which allows their exchange in the sequence and even the omission of one of them in turn. All these features of apposition are discussed in detail in the sections that follow.

2.2.1. The relevance of a pause in apposition

2.2.1.1. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive constructions

Let us start by discussing one of the features where linguists' definitions of apposition constantly come into conflict, namely the relevance of a pause-pitch in the construction. Many grammarians maintain that, just like relative clauses, appositional constructions can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. In restrictive constructions, the anchor and the appositive appear next to each other and are part of the same tone unit (see example (2.1) below). By contrast, the elements in non-restrictive constructions are separated by a pause in speech, which is represented in writing by means of a comma (cf. (2.2)), a hyphen, a colon, a semi-colon, a full stop, dashes or brackets (cf. Norwood 1954: 269; Bitea 1977: 460 and Potts 2005: 93). Nevertheless, punctuation is not always reliable in order to distinguish non-restrictive apposition, since commas are sometimes omitted.

(2.1) Mr Campbell the lawyer *was here last night*.[2] (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1304)

(2.2) Mr Campbell, a lawyer, *was here last night*.

[2] All the examples in this dissertation are italicised. Therefore, if authors use italics in their examples, those italics will not be reproduced here. Appositional constructions (including exemplifying ones) are not italicised so as to help the reader identify them, whereas AMs (including EMs) are highlighted in bold type.

Although in the present piece of research I will use the Quirkian terminology, namely *restrictive* vs. *non-restrictive* (also found in, for example, Seright 1966; Burton-Roberts 1975; Bitea 1977; Matthews 1981 and Doron 1992, among others), alternative labels are available in the literature to refer to both types of constructions. Thus, Bloomfield (1933), Lee (1952), Haugen (1953), Norwood (1954), Hockett (1955), Hultzén (1956), Sopher (1971), Acuña-Fariña (1996, 2006, 2009), Keizer (2005, 2007) and Lekakou and Szendröi (2007), among others, refer to restrictive apposition as *close apposition* and to non-restrictive apposition as *loose apposition,* whereas Payne and Huddleston (2002) and Potts (2005) use the labels *integrated* [3] and *supplementary apposition* for these two types of appositional constructions.

Linguists have divergent opinions about the relevance of a pause in appositional constructions. For some, the pause is not a defining trait of apposition, but rather a stylistic device which distinguishes two versions of a single construction (see Lee 1952: 268 and Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1303-1304, among others). For others, the pause is grammatically motivated and distinguishes apposition from other kinds of constructions. However, even those scholars who admit restrictive and non-restrictive constructions as being appositional recognise that there are important differences in meaning between the two structures. Lee (1952: 268), for example, considers non-restrictive apposition as a kind of afterthought whose units are "reversible, without the occurrence of much change in the meaning". As far as restrictive constructions are concerned, he no longer considers them as "extra or causal". In Lee's words,

[3] In this dissertation, the label *integrated* (in opposition to *non-integrated*) is applied to constructions where the units are not separated by pauses (i.e. they are pronounced in the same tone unit), though their meaning is still non-restrictive (see Section 8.6).

> Instead, it [the appositive] is necessary as specifying which illustration or example is meant among the sizable number of items indicated by the first substantive. The first element is classificational, the second specific within the general class. A and B are no longer equal […]. Unless one is willing to introduce the suggestion of afterthought the terms are no longer reversible. (Lee 1952: 269)

Along similar lines, Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1357) and Payne and Huddleston (2002: 447) denominate restrictive constructions as *appositive modifiers*, and non-restrictive constructions as *supplementary apposition*, as illustrated in (2.3) below. In this example, *the life and soul of the party* is considered a supplement because it "occup[ies] a position in linear sequence without being integrated into the syntactic structure of the sentence" (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson 2002: 1350).

(2.3) Pat –the life and soul of the party– *had invited all the neighbours.* (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson 2002: 1350)

It is precisely due to the differences between restrictive and non-restrictive constructions that some scholars do not include both structures under the same label. Thus, some authors apply the term *apposition* to non-restrictive constructions and classify restrictive appositions as something else, such as "'identifying' or 'particularizing' compounds" (Perrin 1955: 198). In this connection, Fuentes-Rodríguez (1989: 225) and Acuña-Fariña (1996: 66) maintain that restrictive apposition does not exist, though Acuña-Fariña still considers this type of constructions in subsequent works (see Acuña-Fariña 2009).

In this piece of research, only non-restrictive constructions are accepted as appositional. As stated at the beginning of this section, apposition is here viewed as a relation between two units which are semantically equivalent. Therefore, accepting restrictive constructions as examples of apposition would be somehow contradictory. In

my view, the specifying or classificational nature of restrictive constructions comes into conflict with the idea of apposition as a parenthetical construction where the second unit explains on the meaning of a preceding element instead of delimiting its scope of reference (see Hadlich 1971: 145 and Burton-Roberts 1975: 391). The pattern of restrictive constructions suggests a different construction type, probably closer to modification: the second element acts as an attribute of the first one, modifying or defining it (cf. Lee 1952: 268-269 and Acuña-Fariña 1996: 26, 55-56, among others). As a consequence, restrictive apposition is not a twofold construction, but a complex unit where one of the elements functions as the head while the other is its modifier.[4] For the above reasons, henceforth the term *apposition* refers only to non-restrictive constructions and the distinction restrictive vs. non-restrictive is only made when necessary.

2.2.1.2. Apposition as metadiscourse

The presence of a pause before the appositive allows the description of apposition with words such as *supplementary*, *afterthought* or *parenthetical*. All these terms point out in the same direction: apposition as *metadiscourse.* Metadiscourse has been described by many as "discourse about discourse" or "writing about writing" (cf. Williams 2003 [1981]: 83), though it is much more than that. Metadiscourse exposes the idea that communication is not a mere exchange of information as it also reflects the personalities or attitudes of those involved in the act of communication or, in other words, it reveals that no act of communication is neutral (cf. Hyland and Tse 2004: 156 and Hyland

[4] For more information on the kind of relationship between the two units in apposition see Section 2.2.2.3 below.

2005: 3). All this hints at the fact that when we write we usually move at two different levels:

> On one level we supply information about the subject of our text. On this level we expand propositional content. On the other level, the level of metadiscourse, we do not add propositional material but help our readers organize, classify, interpret, evaluate, and react to such material. (Vande Kopple 1985: 83)

According to Dafouz-Milne (2003: 32), these two levels correspond to the textual and to the interpersonal functions of language, respectively.

As for apposition, the units which participate in this kind of constructions refer to the same external reality by means of different words. In this sense, the appositive is a kind of repetition or paraphrase of the speaker/writer. In such a context, we could wonder why these two units are necessary so as to convey certain information or, to be more precise, why the speaker/writer considers these two elements necessary to transmit his/her message. This has to do with the metadiscoursive function of apposition. Some scholars (see, for example, Haugen 1953: 169 and Bitea 1977: 456, 461-463) regard apposition as one of the techniques used by speakers in order to make themselves visible in their productions, to introduce their own attitude towards the message transmitted. This is why apposition is, in Harris and Potts' (2009: 24) words, "speaker oriented". The communicative goal of apposition is that of making a message clear and unambiguous for the reader by providing additional information, which ultimately means communicative success (cf. de Vries 2008: 358). However, there is an underlying difference in the use of apposition in speech and in writing (cf. Bitea 1977: 462; Meyer 1992: 10 and Acuña-Fariña 1999: 74-75). Oral speech is usually unplanned and spontaneous. Frequently, the hearer's attitude may suggest that the message is to some

extent ambiguous. As a consequence, the speaker decides to reformulate his/her own words or to add some extra information, thus successfully transmitting his/her message. In this case, the speaker receives on-going feedback which allows an immediate reaction and correction. On the other hand, in written documents, which represent a much more precise and meticulous type of discourse, encoder and decoder do not share the same context and feedback is not given. Thus, the encoder has to guide the reader, "emphasize the path to follow, and the best way to do it is to find the linguistically weak points of the utterance and make everything as explicit as possible and feasible" (Bitea 1977: 462). It is because of this desire to be clear that the writer introduces appositional constructions. The use of apposition depends to a large extent on the type of text. Thus, the less formal a text is, the more appositional constructions will be found (cf. Kortmann 1991: 2 and Acuña-Fariña 1996: 124).

The clarifying or explanatory nature of apposition has to do with so-called *Grice's Maxims*: the *Maxim of Quantity*, the *Maxim of Quality*, the *Maxim of Relevance* (or *Relation*) and the *Maxim of Manner* (see Grice 1975: 45-46). These maxims or principles summarise the main recommendations given to make an utterance explicit and informative. Thus, the *Maxim of Quantity* refers to the information that should be provided in a speech act:

> 1. Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange.
>
> 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

According to the *Maxim of Quality*, one has to be always faithful to the truth and never lie to his/her interlocutor:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

In turn, the *Maxim of Relevance or Relation* simply states "be relevant". This straightforward formulation can be very easily violated by, for example, giving hints or using euphemisms (see Alba-Juez 1995: 27-28). Finally, the *Maxim of Manner* refers to how something should be said:

1. Avoid obscurity.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief.
4. Be orderly.

Even though, in principle, these maxims seem clear and easy to follow, their vagueness makes them somehow problematic too. Alba-Juez (1995) and Frederking (1996), among other authors, highlight some of the main problems behind these Gricean Maxims. However, in spite of all their limitations, Grice's Maxims help us to understand how speakers (and writers) face their message. According to the Maxim of Quantity, for example, we have to make our discourse (either oral or written) "as informative as is required". In order to successfully transmit a message, encoders usually have to revise their own words and add some extra information which they consider necessary in order to "construct a reader-friendly text, i.e. a text that is cohesive, coherent and shows consideration for the reader" (Dafouz-Milne 2003: 30). Interestingly, apposition perfectly fits into this metadiscoursive function of the language, but only in its non-restrictive version.

2.2.2. The units in apposition: Anchor and appositive

In this section I analyse the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the units which are involved in a relation of apposition. Making use of Potts' (2005) terminology, I refer to the first unit in apposition as *anchor* and to the second unit as *appositive*.[5] First, I describe the different types of appositional constructions taking the semantic relationship between anchor and appositive as a basis (see Section 2.2.2.1). Then I consider the degree of prototypicality of the appositional types discussed (cf. Section 2.2.2.2). Section 2.2.2.3, in turn, explains the different problems which arise when trying to establish the head of an appositional construction. Next I comment on the syntactic forms which these units may take (see Section 2.2.2.4) and the syntactic functions which they usually carry out (cf. Section 2.2.2.5). Section 2.2.2.6 discusses the moveable character of anchor and appositive (which can exchange their positions in the sequence) and the possibility of omitting one of the two units, while Section 2.2.2.7 deals with the possibility of inserting linguistic material between the two units in apposition. Finally, the resemblance between apposition and copular constructions is expounded in Section 2.2.2.8.

2.2.2.1. Semantic relation between anchor and appositive: A classification of appositional types

As seen in Section 2.2.1.2 above, apposition is a type of semantic-syntactic relation between two units which refer to the same external reality. This idea of coreferentiality

[5] Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1350-1351) also use the term *anchor* for the first element, but they name the second unit *supplement* (cf. Section 2.2.2.3). Hannay and Keizer (2005: 160), in turn, use the terms *host* and *apposition*, respectively. Other scholars, such as Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1301), use the term *appositive* for both elements. In the present dissertation, *apposition* names the whole construction, that is, both anchor and appositive.

is emphasised in Taylor's (2002) definition of apposition: "In an expression XY, X and Y are in apposition if X and Y each designate one and the same entity" (Taylor 2002: 235). Thus, sameness of reference means 'lexical equivalence' or 'synonymy' (see Bitea 1977: 454-455). Nonetheless, these units are not perfect synonyms, as "complete denotational sameness is rare" (Burnley 1992: 472). In other words, the units refer to the same entity by pointing at different traits or properties which characterise it. It should be noted, however, that coreferentiality may be full or partial depending on the type of apposition, as the classification of appositional constructions discussed below indicates.

Both Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1308-1316) and Meyer (1992: 73-82) propose very similar classifications which coincide in general terms but which arise from different starting points (see Table 1 below). Quirk *et al*. (1985) rank appositional constructions from fully coreferential to partially coreferential. Meyer (1992), in turn, takes into account which of the two units, the anchor or the appositive, is more specific or whether they are equally specific.

These scholars sometimes use different terminology to refer to the same types of constructions. Thus, Meyer includes within *characterisation* the structures which Quirk *et al*. classify under *designation* and *attribution*, whereas his *paraphrase* refers to two types of *reformulation* proposed by Quirk *et al*., namely that based on linguistic knowledge and that based on factual knowledge. Finally, *reorientation* and *more precise formulation*, on the one hand, and *self-correction* and *revision*, on the other hand, denote the same types of constructions. In what follows, the individual semantic types of apposition are briefly discussed by focusing on Quirk *et al.*'s (1985: 1308-1316) classification.

Table 1. Comparison between Quirk *et al.*'s (1985) and Meyer's (1992) classifications of semantic types of apposition

Quirk *et al*. (1985)	**Meyer (1992)**
EQUIVALENCE	**2 MORE SPECIFIC THAN 1**
Appellation	Appellation
Identification	Identification
Designation	Particularisation
Reformulation	Exemplification
Based on linguistic knowledge	**2 LESS SPECIFIC THAN 1**
Based on factual knowledge	Characterisation
More precise formulation	**2 AS SPECIFIC AS 1**
Revision	Paraphrase
ATTRIBUTION	Reorientation
INCLUSION	Self-correction
Exemplification	
Particularisation	

I. Equivalence

In equivalence, anchor and appositive are (in most cases) totally coreferential. Some of the most common markers used in equivalence are *namely*, *that is (to say)*, *in other words* and *or*. Four different subtypes can be distinguished within equivalence: appellation, identification, designation and reformulation.

I.i. Appellation

In appellation both units are definite, but the appositive is more specific. In most examples it is a proper name, as shown in (2.4).

(2.4) The company commander, **that is to say** Captain Madison, *assembled his men and announced their mission*.[6]

I.ii. Identification

In identification, the appositive is more specific and identifies the referent of the anchor. Frequently, the appositive is an indefinite phrase, as in (2.5) below, but it may also be definite, as in (2.6).

(2.5) A company commander, **(namely)** Captain Madison, *assembled his men and announced their mission.*

(2.6) *She still enjoys* such books: science fiction, detective stories, historical novels.

I.iii. Designation

Designation differs from both appellation and identification in that the anchor is more specific than the appositive. Because of this, the AM *namely* cannot be used. Both units are usually definite. An example is given in (2.7).

(2.7) Captain Madison, (**that is to say**) the company commander, *assembled his men and announced their mission*.

[6] Unless otherwise stated, all the examples in Section 2.2.2.1 are taken from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1308-1316).

I.iv. Reformulation

In reformulation, the appositive expresses the lexical content of the anchor by means of different words. Such rewording may be motivated by different reasons, hence Quirk *et al*.'s (1985: 1311-1313) distinction of four different types of reformulation:

- Reformulation based on linguistic knowledge: The appositive is usually a synonym of the anchor (as in (2.8)) or a word in a different language (as in (2.9)). The speaker may feel that the terms used are not clear enough and s/he decides to use other words in order to clarify his/her message. Reformulation is here triggered by linguistic reasons.

(2.8) *You should have consulted* an ophthalmologist, **that is (to say)** an eye doctor.

(2.9) "savoir ('know' in English)"

Apart from the typical AMs used in equivalence, a wide variety of expressions can mark linguistic reformulation: *(more) simply*, *in simple(r) words*, *in simple(r) terms*, *put (more) simply*, *to put it (more) simply*, *in more difficult language*, *in scientific terminology*, *in more technical terms*, *technically (speaking)*, *in words of one syllable*, etc.

- Reformulation based on factual knowledge: In this case, reformulation is brought about by our knowledge of the external world, as shown in (2.10).

(2.10) The United States of America, **or** America for short.

- More precise formulation: Here the function of the appositive is not exactly that of paraphrasing the anchor, but rather that of refocusing its reference in order to be more precise or correct. Consider (2.11).

(2.11) *They started going to* the church, the Catholic Church.

- Revision: Revision is more typical of the spoken domain, where language is normally not planned. In this case, the speaker realises that s/he may have made some mistake and corrects his/her words. An example is given in (2.12).

(2.12) *His party controls* London, Greater London **that is to say**.

II. Attribution

In attribution, the appositive gives some characteristic of the anchor. Although attribution is very similar to designation, it differs from it in that here the appositive tends to be an indefinite phrase. Instead of a relation of equivalence, there is a relation of predication between both units. Consider in this respect example (2.13).

(2.13) Captain Madison, a company commander, *assembled his men and announced their mission.*

Notice that attributive apposition does not admit the use of AMs. If we insert a marker in example (2.14), the resulting construction is ungrammatical:

(2.14) a. I consider John, an intelligent and ambitious young man, *to be the ideal candidate*. (Hannay and Keizer 2005: 174)

b. *I consider John, **that is** an intelligent and ambitious young man, *to be the ideal candidate*.

III. Inclusion

Coreferentiality in inclusion is only partial: the referent of the anchor includes the referent of the appositive. Therefore, the appositive is more specific than the anchor (cf. Heringa 2012: 53). Two types of inclusion can be distinguished, namely exemplification and particularisation.

III.i. Exemplification

In exemplification, the anchor is more general and the appositive is an example which is chosen at random of that general term. The markers used in exemplification comprise the following: *for example*, *for instance*, *including*, *included*, *e.g.*, *say* and *such as*. Meyer (1992: 77) adds *like* to this list. Illustrative examples are given in (2.15) to (2.17) below.

(2.15) *They visited* several cities, **for example** Rome and Athens.

(2.16) Many people, **including** my sister, *won't forgive him for that.*

(2.17) Many people, my sister **included**, *won't forgive him for that.*

Although Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1315) consider *including* and *included* as markers of exemplification, Meyer (1992: 77) classifies them as particularisers. As a matter of fact, these markers seem to be halfway between exemplification and particularisation.[7]

III.ii. Particularisation

Particularisation does not differ significantly from exemplification: here the appositive is also an example of the anchor, but in this case there is a nuance of emphasis on the

[7] The borderline character of these two markers will be brought to the fore in Section 6.3.4 below.

example selected. In other words, while in exemplification the example given is (at least in principle) not chosen for any particular reason, in particularisation it is selected on purpose because the speaker wants to emphasise it. Some common particularisers are *especially*, *mainly*, *notably*, *particularly*, *in particular*, *chiefly* and *mostly*; cf. (2.18).

(2.18) *The children liked* animals, **particularly** the monkeys.

Due to the semantics of the markers used in particularisation, Heringa (2012: 28-29) maintains that the appositive in this type of construction is gradable or, in other words, that the conditions stated by the anchor can be applied to a greater or lesser extent on the appositive. Thus, (2.18) states that the children liked all the animals, but those which they liked the most were the monkeys.

2.2.2.2. A semantic scale of appositional types: Prototypical and non-prototypical constructions

The appositional types discussed in the preceding section range from fully coreferential to partially coreferential. Taking into account the degree of coreferentiality between the units in apposition, appositional constructions can be categorised according to a scale of prototypicality. For a better understanding of this scale, it is useful to examine the notions of categorisation and prototypes, though an exhaustive review of the topic is not intended here. Let us start by providing a definition of categorisation: categorisation is a mental process which consists in the classification of things or different aspects of reality because it is much more economical and efficient than learning them in isolation (cf. López-Rúa 2003: 12; Rosch 2004: 92 and Cohen and Lefebvre 2005: 2). The use of

categories seems to be customary and systematic, automatic and unconscious (cf. Lakoff 2004: 140). In Lakoff's (2004) words:

> Every time we see something as a *kind* of thing [...], we are categorizing. Whenever we reason about *kinds* of things –chairs, nations, illnesses, emotions, any kind of thing at all– we are employing categories [...]. And any time we either produce or understand any utterance of any reasonable length, we are employing dozens, if not hundreds of categories: categories of speech sounds, of words, of phrases and clauses, as well as conceptual categories. (Lakoff 2004: 139-140; also in Lakoff 1987: 5-6; italics in the original)

In linguistics, categorisation is a crucial notion. According to Labov (2004: 68), linguistics can actually be considered as the study of the categorisation of reality by assigning meanings to sounds. Interest in linguistic categorisation goes back to Ancient Greece, when a distinction was already made between the different parts of speech (cf. Robins 2000: 53). Thus, Plato distinguished between *onoma* 'name' and *rhēma* 'what is said about it'. Aristotle added a third component of sentence structure, namely *sundesmos* 'binder', a category which includes function words such as conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns (cf. Robins 2000: 53).

Two major opposing approaches to categorisation can be distinguished: the classical view and the Prototype Theory. The classical approach maintains that categories are clear, definite and perfectly delimited compartments whose limits are precise and unambiguous. According to this restrictive approach to categorisation, an item may either be included in or excluded from a category, without any possible gradation. As a consequence, all the items within a category have the same relevance and status because "features are a matter of all or nothing" (Taylor 1995: 23). As Taylor (1995) explains, this theory is based on two Aristotelian laws: the law of contradiction and the law of the excluded middle:

> The law of contradiction states that a thing cannot both be and not be, it cannot both possess a feature and not possess it, it cannot both belong to a category and not belong to it. The law of the excluded middle states that a thing must either be or not be, it must either possess a feature or not possess it, it must either belong to a category or not belong to it. (Taylor 1995: 23)

This rather simplistic approach was the result of a priori speculation instead of a logical conclusion derived from an empirical study. Although some scholars occasionally condemned this idea of categories as hard and discrete (cf. Aarts' 2003 review on gradience in the history of linguistics), such approach remained mostly unchallenged until well into the 20th century (cf. Aarts *et al.* 2004b: 3 and Lakoff 2004: 140), though it has been strongly criticised in the last decades due to its limitations. The assumption that there exists some kind of "checklist" (Aitchison 2004: 2) of characteristics describing a category is at least dubious. In the early 20th century, Sapir pointed out at the inaccuracy of classifying words in rigid or fixed word classes:

> Our conventional classification of words into parts of speech is only a vague, wavering approximation to a consistently worked out inventory of experience. We imagine, to begin with, that all "verbs" are inherently concerned with action as such, that a "noun" is the name of some definite object or personality that can be pictured by the mind, that all qualities are necessarily expressed by a definite group of words to which we may appropriately apply the term "adjective". As soon as we test our vocabulary, we discover that the parts of speech are far from corresponding to so simple an analysis of reality. (Sapir 1921: 117)

Sapir's words are highly enlightening. While a prototypical verb like *go* denotes a physical action and a prototypical noun like *table* refers to a concrete object, verbs denoting emotional acts (e.g. *love*) or nouns referring to abstract concepts (e.g. *friendship*) are more difficult to classify: they are not *prototypical* items within their respective categories. The classification of other items is even more problematic. Such

is the case, for example, of nominalisations (cf. Langacker 1991: 97 and Denison 2001: 7). A nominalisation is usually described as a word-formation process which consists in changing a non-nominal form (e.g. a verb) into a noun by means of affixation, conversion or phonological modification (see Bauer and Huddleston 2002: 1696). In other words, a nominalisation shows features of two different categories. For instance, *refusal* and *construction* are nominalisations showing both verbal and nominal features, which makes their classification problematic. Denison (2001: 127-130) also provides a number of examples where some forms, originally nouns, are acquiring an adjectival value in the present-day (e.g. *powerhouse*, *fun*, *key* and *designer*) so that their classification as either nouns or adjectives is problematic in some instances. In view of these and similar examples, we can conclude, therefore, that the classic view does not seem to reflect reality in an accurate way.

An alternative approach to categorisation is that of prototypes, which seems to offer a more faithful representation of the real world. In contrast to the classical view of categorisation, current streams of thought regard categories as non-discrete and continuous, with their members showing different degrees of prototypicality. According to Langacker (1987: 371), a prototype is the most typical and straightforward recognisable member of a category, and other elements are integrated into the category owing to their similarity with the prototype. Different degrees of resemblance allow the distinction of different degrees of membership.

Wittgenstein (1945), who can be considered as one of the forerunners of the Prototype Theory, considers fuzziness in language when trying to define the German word *Spiel* ‘game’. He claims that there is not a single feature that can be applied to all the members included in this category:

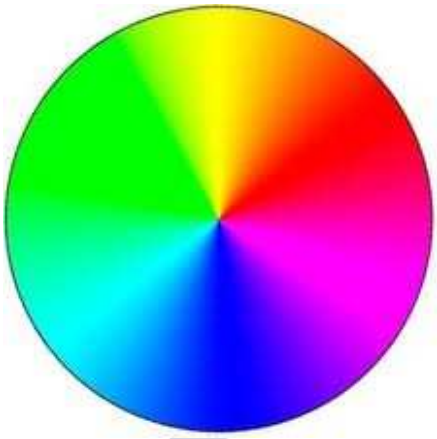
> The boundary of the category is fuzzy –a fact which does not, however, detract from the category's communicative usefulness. Thus, contrary to the expectations of the classical theory, the category is not structured in terms of shared criterial features, but rather by a criss-crossing network of similarities. There are indeed attributes typically associated with the category. Some members share some of these attributes, other members share other attributes. Yet there are no attributes common to all the members, and to them alone. It may even be the case that some members have practically nothing in common with others. (Wittgenstein 1945: 38)

In other words, not all the members of a category show all the distinctive features of the category, and it may even be the case that two members from the same category do not share any common characteristic because they are so distant within the category that their properties are completely different (cf. Taylor 1995: 51). Significantly, Denison (2006: 454) claims that a category is "the sum (or average) of its members".

In addition to being gradable, categories have *fuzzy* and unclear limits; that is, gradience exists not only within categories but also between them (see Denison 2009: 279). In this regard, Aarts (2007: 241-242) argues that gradience can be *subsective* (intra-categorial) or *intersective* (inter-categorial). Nominalisations are an illustrative example of gradience between categories.

This idea of blurred or fuzzy boundaries within and between categories is illustrated in Figure 1 below, which represents the continuum of colour. In this continuum, there is not a clear division between the colours. Instead, small consecutive changes in the shades of the colours give place to new colours, i.e. to new categories. To put it differently, colours gradually change and overlap until they develop into new colours. At the same time, certain shades of a given colour are perceived as more prototypical than others, thus representing different degrees of prototypicality within each colour category.

Figure 1. Chromatic circle



The notion of categorisation is clearly relevant to apposition since not all the constructions included under this term have the same status within the category. Thus, those examples where anchor and appositive are fully coreferential (e.g. equivalence) are classified as more prototypical, whereas constructions where coreferentiality is only partial (e.g. inclusion) are classified as more marginal to the category. Nonetheless, the semantic scale proposed by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1308-1316) does not mean that appositional types belong to clearly differentiated compartments within the category of apposition. As a matter of fact, even those appositional types which appear at both ends of the scale (i.e. the most prototypical and the most marginal types) do not differ as much as could be expected. The following example from Rama-Martínez (1995: 124) is in the borderline between exemplification and identification in the absence of an AM which helps clarifying which class of appositional relation is being expressed:

(2.19) Some reform measures –currency devaluation, price liberalization– *must be done overnight*… (Rama-Martínez 1995: 124)

Along similar lines, the classification of *including* as a marker of exemplification by Quirk *et al.* (1985) and as a marker of particularisation by Meyer (1992), as seen in Section 2.2.2.1, illustrates the fuzziness between these two appositional types.

One final consideration should be made at this point. Significantly, some authors oppose to the classification of attribution as apposition. Acuña-Fariña (1999: 66), for example, classifies (2.20) below as an instance of non-restrictive modification rather than of apposition, whereas Burton-Roberts (1975: 411) concludes that *an upholsterer* in (2.21) has an attributive function, which means that it must derive from a relative clause and is not apposition. Finally, Sopher (1971: 27) also distinguishes between (2.22), which he analyses as an appositional construction whose members have specific reference, and (2.23), which he rejects as apposition because, for him, *a butcher* and *Mr. Sanders* are not notionally equivalent. One further reason usually given against the analysis of attributive constructions as appositional is the fact that they do not allow the insertion of an AM, as explained in Section 2.2.2.1 above.

(2.20) Anne Chapman, a gynaecologist, *will soon do that job in the firm.* (Acuña-Fariña 1999: 66)

(2.21) Mr. Pontefract, an upholsterer, *has big feet.* (Burton-Roberts 1975:411)

(2.22) The butcher, Mr. Sanders, *has a sharp tongue.* (Sopher 1971: 27)

(2.23) A butcher, Mr. Sanders, *has a sharp tongue.* (Sopher 1971: 27)

2.2.2.3. Anchor and appositive: The problem of headedness

One of the most controversial aspects in the study of apposition concerns the status of the units involved in such constructions. As discussed later in this section, some authors consider that one of the appositive units is the head of the construction, i.e. the most

important element which exerts some kind of control over the rest of the sequence,[8] although they do not agree on which unit should be analysed as such. As a matter of fact, determining which element functions as the head in any type of construction (either appositional or not) may be an arduous task. Below I consider briefly some tests usually applied for the identification of the most important element in a construction.[9]

Depending on whether we use tests based on semantic or syntactic notions, different elements will be recognised as the head. From a semantic point of view, the head is considered as the obligatory element of a construction, that which cannot be omitted (test of obligatoriness) and which is distributionally equivalent to the whole construction (test of distributional equivalence). A third semantic test is based on the selection restrictions which the head of a given construction exerts on its complements. For example, verbs like *spill* and *drink* necessarily take a liquid as their subject or direct object (DO), *wine* in (2.24) and (2.25) below.

(2.24) *A bottle of wine spilled.* (Keizer 2007: 11)

(2.25) *He drank a bottle of wine.*

On the other hand, morphosyntactic tests can also be used for the recognition of the head in a NP which functions as subject. Here verb agreement is taken as decisive: the head is that element which determines whether the verb is inflected in the singular or in the plural. Thus, in (2.26), *reviews*, and not *book*, is the head:

(2.26) *Three reviews of the book were/*was received.* (Keizer 2007: 12)

[8] Further information on heads and dependents can be found in, for example, Corbett and Fraser (1993), Roberts (2010) and Miller (2011), among others.

[9] The following review is based on Keizer (2007: 9-21).

Finally, pronominalisation, that is the substitution of an element for a pronoun, can also help so as to identify the head of a given construction. In (2.27) below, the pronominalisation test helps us to determine whether the head of the NP *a box of chocolates* is *box* or *chocolates*:

(2.27) *John gave me a box of chocolates. They were/?It was absolutely delicious.* (Keizer 2007: 20)

However, not all scholars agree as to the usefulness of the aforementioned tests. Thus, for example, Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 408-410) claim that in English number agreement between a NP working as subject and a verb is not a decisive test for determining which element of that NP is the head. In this respect, they consider example (2.28) below as problematic since the head of the subject (i.e. *boys*) and the verb (i.e. *is*) do not show number agreement.

(2.28) *One of the boys is/*are here*. (Akmajian and Lehrer 1976: 410)

On the other hand, the test of obligatoriness is not conclusive in some cases. For example, in a prepositional phrase (PP) neither the preposition nor the NP that follows it can be omitted, and in most NPs the determiner cannot be zeroed out either.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the problem of headedness also applies to apposition: linguists do not agree on which unit should be analysed as the head. What is more, they do not even agree on whether apposition entails a relation between units of the same status as in coordination, or rather it resembles subordination in that one of the elements is dependent on the other. In this context, authors like Poutsma (1904), Lee (1952) and Keizer (2007), among others, claim that the anchor is

the core of the construction, while others, such as Haugen (1953), Burton-Roberts (1975) and Acuña-Fariña (1996), attach more importance to the appositive.[10] Still, there are other scholars who define apposition as a double-headed construction, with neither element prevailing over the other (cf. Hockett 1955; Sopher 1971; Delorme and Dougherty 1972; Bitea 1977; Koktová 1985; Taylor 2002 and Lekakou and Szendröi 2007, among others).

In this dissertation, the anchor is considered to be syntactically more important than the appositive. It does indeed exert some influence on the other elements of the construction, unlike the appositive. This can be seen by applying some of the tests discussed above on an appositional construction. Let us consider the following example:

(2.29) a. Land, brains, wealth, technology –in other words everything we need– *are plentiful in our country*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1304)

b. Everything we need –land, brains, wealth, technology– *is plentiful in our country*.

In (2.29a), it is the anchor (i.e. *land, brains, wealth, technology*) that agrees in number with the verb, which may be an indication of its predominance over the appositive. If we exchange the two units in the sequence, as in (2.29b), the verb phrase (VP) needs to be shifted to the singular so as to agree in number with the new anchor (i.e. *everything we need*.[11] In other words, the application of this morphosyntactic test on the appositional construction in (2.29) shows that it is the anchor, and not the appositive, the one which determines verb agreement and, therefore, the potential head of the

[10] Most of the authors who analyse the second element as the head of the construction actually refer to restrictive constructions. In fact, this analysis would not be possible for (most) non-restrictive constructions (cf. Section 2.2.1.1 above).

[11] See Section 2.2.2.6 below for further information on the possibility of exchanging the anchor and the appositive in the appositional construction.

construction. However, and rather surprisingly, not only the appositive but also the anchor can be omitted (as shown in (2.30b) and (2.30c) below), something unexpected as heads should, by definition, not be left out.

(2.30) a. The President of the United States, George Bush, *spoke at a campaign breakfast*. (Meyer 1992: 1)

b. *The President of the United States spoke at a campaign breakfast*.

c. *George Bush spoke at a campaign breakfast.*

Consequently, I prefer avoiding the labels *head* and *dependent* because the relation between the units in apposition is rather peculiar, or at least it is different from the prototypical relation between a head and its dependents. This is the reason why in this dissertation I use the labels *anchor* and *appositive* instead.

2.2.2.4. Syntactic form of the units in apposition

Most scholars agree that NP is the most common form of both anchor and appositive. In fact, some authors (cf., for example, Fries 1952: 187 and Francis 1958: 301) are so restrictive in their definition of apposition that they delimit this function to NPs. Nonetheless, already back in 1966, Seright (1966: 107) pointed out the inadequacy of excluding from apposition those constructions which do not contain a noun or a noun cluster. Three decades later, the idea was recovered by Doron (1992: 31), who maintains that the appositive may take the form of VPs, adjective phrases (AdjPs), PPs and relative clauses (complementiser phrases in her terminology), among others. Examples (2.31)-(2.34) from Doron (1992: 32) illustrate these different syntactic forms:

(2.31) Many people, **including** my sister, *won't forgive him for that.* (Doron 1992: 32; also cited in Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1308; cf. (2.16) above)

(2.32) *John, drowsy with drugs, immediately fell asleep.*

(2.33) *John, in a state of stupor, could not answer any of the questions.*

(2.34) *John, who was standing on a stool, reached the upper shelf.*

From this list, I consider that only (2.31) qualifies as apposition (exemplification, to be precise). However, it should be noticed that in her brief explanation, Doron (1992) describes this example as a case of a VP functioning as an appositive, while in my opinion it contains a NP (*my sister*) introduced by the marker *including*.[12] The other examples given by Doron (1992) illustrate, in my opinion, constructions other than apposition. In examples (2.32) and (2.33), *drowsy with drugs* and *in a state of stupor* are modifiers which describe how John feels, whereas (2.34) is an instance of a non-restrictive relative clause.

In turn, Bitea (1977: 474-475) adduces the following examples when he defends that apposition can be expressed by different parts of speech, such as adjectives (cf. (2.35)), adverbs (cf. (2.36)), infinitival clauses (cf. (2.37)), participial clauses[13] (cf. (2.38)) and pronouns (cf. (2.39)):

(2.35) *Your sister is* charming –awfully pretty and modest.

(2.36) *The march of his intellect is* like that of a crab, backwards.

(2.37) In order to fix a grammar (**that is**, to revise the normal rules so that this grammar will generate the deviant utterances) *there are two methods which may be used.*

(2.38) *In the former, he is* "suppressing his feelings" –**that is to say**, stating things in a way that would be verifiable by all observers, regardless of one's feelings.

[12] See Section 6.1.1 below for more information on the verbal origin of *including* and its subsequent development as a marker of exemplification.

[13] *Infinitival phrases* and *participial phrases* in Bitea's (1977) terminology.

(2.39) *Something incalculable wrought* for them –for him and Kate.

Along similar lines, Burton-Roberts (1975: 410) includes within apposition some sentences (cf. (2.40)), verbs (cf. (2.41)), VPs (cf. (2.42)), adjectives (cf. (2.43)) and adverbials (cf. (2.44)):

(2.40) You won't be totally alone, **that's to say**, there'll be others to help you.

(2.41) *He* ran –*absolutely* raced– *up the hill.*

(2.42) *They* sent him to Coventry, refused to speak to him.

(2.43) *Under* normal, peacetime, *conditions.*

(2.44) *They met* here, in London.

From all the examples of non-nominal apposition listed by Burton-Roberts (1975), Acuña-Fariña (1999) progressively excludes most of them except for that illustrated in (2.44). Interestingly, he concludes that only nominal and adverbial constructions are apposition since they are the ones which are fully equivalent (see Acuña-Fariña 1999: 69).

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1303) make one further relevant distinction. They apply the term *strict apposition* to those cases in which anchor and appositive belong to the same syntactic class, for example two NPs, as in (2.45) below. When the two elements have different syntactic forms, by contrast, apposition is *weak*. Examples of weak apposition are (2.46) below, where the anchor is a NP and the appositive an *–ing* clause, and (2.44) above, where the units are an adverb phrase (AdvP) and a PP.

(2.45) Football, his only interest in life, *has brought him many friends.* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1303)

(2.46) His only interest in life, playing football, *has brought him many friends.* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1303)

Hockett (1955: 101), by contrast, does not agree with this idea of apposition made up of units which belong to different word classes. For him, "[a] constitute cannot be appositive unless its IC's [immediate constituents] belong to the same major form-class". Therefore, he rejects those examples of so-called weak apposition as belonging to the category of apposition.

2.2.2.5. Functional equivalence

As mentioned in Section 2.2 above, the units in apposition work as a single constituent and, as a consequence, they carry out the same syntactic function (cf. Acuña-Fariña 1999: 75). This is what Fuentes-Rodríguez (1989: 235) calls *equifunctionality*.

Given that NP is the most common syntactic form of anchor and appositive, the units in apposition usually carry out those functions typically assigned to NPs. This is confirmed by Seoane-Posse's (1994: 172-173) work on apposition in *The Great Gatsby*, where she concludes that all appositions found in the novel are nominal, with the only exception of some adverbial appositional constructions. This is in line with Acuña-Fariña's (1999) claim that semantic and syntactic equivalence is only possible in either nominal or adverbial appositions (see Section 2.2.2.4 above). Seoane-Posse illustrates nominal (cf. (2.47)-(2.50) below) and adverbial (cf. (2.51)) apposition with the following examples (from Seoane-Posse 1994: 173):

(2.47) (Subject) The sister, Catherine, *was a slender, worldly girl of about thirty*.

(2.48) (Complement of a preposition): *She was appalled by* West Egg, this unprecedent place that Broadway had begotten upon a Long Island fishing village.

(2.49) (DO): *And he knew that he had lost* that part of it, the freshest and the best, *forever*.

(2.50) (Subjective predicative complement): *This is* a valley of ashes –a fantastic farm where ashes grow like wheat into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens.

(2.51) (Adverbial): *No telephone message arrived, but the butler went without his sleep and waited for it* until four o'clock –until long after there was anyone to give it to if it came.

2.2.2.6. Interchangeability and omissibility

Closely connected with functional equivalence are two further characteristics of apposition: the interchangeability of the units in the appositional sequence and the possibility of omitting one of them. Given that both elements carry out the same syntactic function, some scholars (cf. Seright 1966: 108; Burton-Roberts 1975: 392 and Bitea 1977: 456-457, among others) maintain that their order in the sequence does not matter, that is, they can exchange positions. Not only that, besides being reversible, either unit can be omitted in turn. The following example illustrates these points. In (2.52a), the appositional construction functions as subject. Anchor and appositive can exchange positions in the sequence without causing any significant effect on the meaning or grammaticality of the construction (cf. (2.52b)). Moreover, any of them can be omitted and the meaning of the sequence is still basically the same (cf. (2.52c) and (2.52d)). In these examples, anchor and appositive take over the function of subject when occurring on their own.

(2.52) a. The first contestant, Lulu, *was ushered on stage*. (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson 2002: 1357)

b. Lulu, the first contestant, *was ushered on stage.*

c. *The first contestant was ushered on stage.*

d. *Lulu was ushered on stage.*

Nevertheless, although the omission of one of the units and their reversal in the sequence are, in principle, possible in most appositional constructions (especially in central cases of equivalence), in my view changes of this kind have consequences on the resulting construction to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, in some cases they may affect the meaning of the sentence though not its grammaticality (i.e. it may be grammatically correct), whereas in other cases the resulting construction may be unacceptable from a semantic or a syntactic point of view (cf. Hannay and Keizer 2005: 165). Thus, in (2.53a), for instance, a change in the order of the elements would result in an incongruous sentence (see (2.53b)), though not ungrammatical or with a different meaning. A better alternative would involve replacing the possessive construction *Simon's brother* by another possessive phrase like *his brother*. Example (2.53c) is also problematic for a similar reason, while, by contrast, (2.53d) is perfectly correct both syntactically and semantically.

(2.53) a. *Simon doesn't believe that* Peter, Simon's brother, *committed the crime*. (Hannay and Keizer 2005: 164)

b. ?*Simon doesn't believe that* Simon's brother, Peter, *committed the crime*.

c. ?*Simon doesn't believe that Simon's brother committed the crime*.

d. *Simon doesn't believe that Peter committed the crime*.

Let us consider one further example. In (2.29) above, repeated below for convenience as (2.54a), inversion in the order of the units in apposition would result in an ungrammatical construction given that the new appositional construction, which functions as subject, would not agree in number with the verb (cf. (2.54b)). In order to maintain such agreement, the singular form *is* should be replaced by the plural form *are*.

(2.54) = (2.29) a. Land, brains, wealth, technology –in other words everything we need– *are plentiful in our country.*

b. Everything we need –land, brains, wealth, technology– *is/*are plentiful in our country*.

2.2.2.7. Intervening material between anchor and appositive

As Acuña-Fariña (1996: 13) and Nevanlinna and Pahta (1997: 373) point out, the word *apposition* derives from the Latin term *appositus*, which means 'set beside'. In prototypical appositional constructions, therefore, anchor and appositive appear next to each other, as in example (2.52) above. Potts (2005), who considers apposition as a kind of supplementation, asserts that "all supplements [...] must be immediately adjacent to whatever constituent they are dependent upon for their interpretation" (Potts 2005: 104). However, Norwood (1954: 270), Seright (1966: 109), Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1302) and Meyer (1992: 37-39), among other scholars, do not agree with this idea of apposition being made up of two units necessarily placed together. In many examples the anchor and the appositive are in fact separated by some intervening material, as shown in (2.55) and (2.56).

(2.55) An unusual present *was given to him for his birthday,* a book on ethics. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1302)

(2.56) Three people *attended the meeting:* Dr. Smith, Professor Jones, and Mr. King. (Meyer 1992: 5)

In these examples, the anchors (*an unusual present* and *three people* respectively) and the appositives (*a book on ethics* and *Dr. Smith, Professor Jones, and Mr. King*) are separated by the predicate (*was given to him for his birthday* and *attended the meeting*). Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1302) denominate these constructions *discontinuous* apposition.

Several reasons may justify the split of anchor and appositive, and these may differ depending on whether the discontinuous appositional construction occurs in a written or in a spoken text. In the written language, the use of the appositive after the predicate has to do with the principles of end-focus and end-weight.[14] As Seoane-Posse (1994: 174-175) and Meyer (1992: 38) point out, the appositive may come in post-verbal position in order to avoid a long and complex unit at the beginning of the sentence, since initial position is not common for heavy units. For example, in (2.57) the whole appositional construction would be too heavy to come in initial position, and that is why the anchor (*the following possibilities*) is left in pre-verbal position whereas the appositive (three sentences which are part of an enumeration: *1. The use of high voltages […] through the anode*) comes after the predicate.

(2.57) The following possibilities *exist for achieving this [improving the efficiency of plasma generators]:* 1. The use of high voltages and low currents by proper design to reduce electron heat transfer to the anode for a given power output. 2. Continuous motion of the arc contact area at the anode by flow or magnetic forces. 3. Feed back of the energy transferred to the anode by applying gas transpiration through the anode. (Meyer 1992: 38)

Another reason which may explain why the appositive sometimes comes in post-verbal position in written texts has to do with the "syntactic constraints on the placement of words in a sentence or clause" (Meyer 1992: 39). In (2.58) below, for instance, the anchor (*Alexandros Panagoulis*) and the appositive (*the Greek army private sentenced to death in Athens for plotting to overthrow the regime*) are separated by *aged 30*, which is a modifier of *Alexandros Panagoulis*. The clause *aged 30* needs to

[14] The principle of end-focus and the principle of end-weight are discussed in detail in, for example, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1282); Downing and Locke (1992: 253) and Biber *et al.* (1999: 809), among others.

follow the head of the NP which it modifies, as this is the most natural position for modifiers of this kind in the sequence.

(2.58) *The Pope yesterday appealed to the Greek Government to show mercy toward* Alexandros Panagoulis, *aged 30,* the Greek army private sentenced to death in Athens for plotting to overthrow the regime. (Meyer 1992: 39)

As regards the spoken language, Meyer (1992: 39) finds two major explanations why the appositive may be separated from its anchor. On the one hand, oral speech is spontaneous and unplanned. As we talk, we may have the feeling that our statement is not clear enough and decide to add some additional information, which we append at the end of the sentence, as in (2.59) below (cf. Blakemore 1993: 101). On other occasions, the insertion of parenthetical expressions such as *I mean* or *you know* between the units may bring anchor and appositive apart, as is the case in (2.60).

(2.59) That *would be one of the most difficult things,* buckling down to Anglo–Saxon. (Meyer 1992: 39)

(2.60) The political reasons involved, *I mean* the ones of national prestige, *are entirely ones of timing.* (Meyer 1992: 39)

It seems, therefore, that the split of the units in apposition is not a decisive or crucial factor to exclude a given construction from the category. The presence of intervening material between anchor and appositive only makes the construction less prototypical, but does not invalidate the appositional status of the sequence.

2.2.2.8. Apposition and copular constructions

In the literature on apposition, the relation between an anchor and its appositive has recurrently been seen as analogous to a copular relationship (see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1301; Acuña-Fariña 1999: 69-70; Hannay and Keizer 2005: 166-181; Potts 2005: 131

and Cardoso and de Vries 2010: 16, among others). This derives from the assumption that anchor and appositive are coreferential (cf. Section 2.2 above): if the anchor *A* and the appositive *B* name the same external reality, then *A* is *B*. Thus, for instance, in our previous example (2.52), the appositional construction *the first contestant, Lulu* can be paraphrased by using a copula: *the first contestant is Lulu*. Closely connected with this, the relationship between an anchor and its appositive can also be rephrased by means of a relative clause with a copula: *the first contestant, who is Lulu.* As a matter of fact, some scholars maintain that appositional constructions derive from relative clauses: "An appositive construction (like *John, a good salesman*) is derived by transformationally reducing an underlying appositive relative clause (like *John, who is a good salesman*)" (Delorme and Dougherty 1972: 5). However, not all appositional constructions seem to have a relative clause counterpart. Such a paraphrase is only possible when a copular relation exists between the two units in apposition, that is, when the anchor may become a subject and the appositive a Subjective Predicative Complement (SPC) linked by means of a copula (cf. Meyer 1992: 55). Thus, for example, in (2.61) below the first unit (*communications*) and the second unit (*radio, television, magazines, and advertising*) do not stand in a relation of equivalence, but rather in one of inclusion: the second unit is an example of the first one as it names some of the items included in it, but not all of them. In examples like this, the units can be linked by means of a verb denoting inclusion (cf. Section 3.3.5 below).

(2.61) a. *Like Herbert, they were all in* communications: radio, television, magazines, and advertising. (Meyer 1992: 55)

b. **Like Herbert, they were all in communications, which are radio, television, magazines, and advertising.*

2.2.3. Appositional markers

2.2.3.1. Definition

An AM is a connector used to link the appositive to the anchor, thus making explicit the semantic relationship which exists between the two units (cf. Pahta and Nevanlinna 1997: 127-128). It is precisely such semantic relationship (i.e. the degree of coreferentiality between them) that restricts the use of AMs. In fact, each appositional type discussed in Section 2.2.2.1 above (namely equivalence, attribution and inclusion) convey different meanings, in such a way that each type only allows certain AMs (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1307). In other words, although some markers can be used in more than one type of apposition, they cannot be used in any of them: their meanings restrict their use. Nevertheless, some scholars refute this idea of AMs as meaningful units. For example, Koktová (1985: 61) regards AMs as vague and indistinct, not capable of standing for distinct types of apposition.

For some grammarians, AMs are the only reliable clue to distinguish appositional structures. In this context, for Burton-Roberts (1975) a construction is appositional whenever we can introduce an AM between the two units without affecting its grammaticality. He points out that "such markers, after all, make appositions" (Burton-Roberts 1975: 417). By contrast, other linguists only accept as appositional those constructions whose units are juxtaposed because they consider that the use of an AM converts an appositional construction into a subordinated sequence (cf. Fuentes-Rodríguez 1989: 235).

From a formal point of view, AMs may adopt a variety of syntactic forms. Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 3) list the following: single words from different word classes

(*namely*, *including*, *included*), phrases, mainly PPs (*in other words*, *in particular*, *for example*) and clauses, both finite (*that is to say*) and non-finite (*to wit*). From this list, one could get the impression that AMs constitute a heterogeneous group. However, as Cuenca (2001a: 216) claims, the impression of heterogeneity is only apparent since all AMs show a similar behaviour after losing characteristics of their original syntactic category. Thus, *for example* cannot be used in the plural even if it introduces a plural appositive (cf. (2.62) below) and *included* no longer has past reference.

(2.62) = (2.15) a. *They visited* several cities, **for example** Rome and Athens.

b. **They visited* several cities, **for examples** Rome and Athens.

In other words, what makes all AMs alike is the fact that they have undergone a process of grammaticalisation through which they have lost their previous defining features (nominal, verbal and so on) in order to function as links between the anchor and the appositive.[15]

One important clarification should be made at this point: AMs are not possible in restrictive constructions. Thus, in a prototypical example of so-called restrictive apposition such as *the poet Burns*, the two units *the poet* and *Burns* cannot be set apart by means of an AM: **The poet namely/to wit Burns* (see Acuña-Fariña 2009: 459). In Lekakou and Szendöi's (2007: 131) words, "[g]iven the presence of a prosodic boundary, it is not surprising that in loose apposition the two parts can be separated by expressions like *namely, that is (to say), or rather, in other words* etc. As expected, this is impossible in the case of close apposition". In short, the use of AMs represents a further difference between restrictive and non-restrictive appositional constructions. On

[15] Grammaticalisation is the focus of Chapter 4 below.

the other hand, attributive apposition does not accept AMs either (cf. Sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2 above).

2.2.3.2. Optional vs. obligatory AMs

Explicit markers of apposition can be either optional or obligatory. When they are obligatory, their use is regulated by semantic and syntactic reasons. In this case, their omission would result in an ungrammatical construction or in a construction with a different meaning. The only appositional type where the use of AMs is compulsory is inclusion (cf. Heringa 2012: 30). For example, in (2.63a) below the marker *especially* cannot be omitted. Without it, the resulting sequence would not make sense: *a number of friends* and *Joan and Betty* would be understood as equivalents when actually *a number of friends* implies more than two people (cf. (2.63b)):

(2.63) a. *We want to invite* a number of friends, **especially** Joan and Betty. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1316)

b. ?*We want to invite* a number of friends, Joan and Betty.

On the contrary, when AMs are optional, their use depends on pragmatic factors, although they are left out most of the times. For example, the use of *namely* in (2.64a) below is an indication of formal style, and makes the sentence stylistically marked. A more neutral version of this sentence is given in (2.64b), where the optional marker *namely* is omitted.

(2.64) a. *He gave them* the news: **namely** that the troops would be leaving. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1321)

b. *He gave them* the news: that the troops would be leaving.

Broadly speaking, AMs are not very common, as demonstrated in Meyer's (1992: 96-98) work on apposition. In his data, optional AMs appear in only 3% of the examples analysed. The remaining constructions, 97% of the total, contain either an obligatory marker or no marker at all. Meyer explains the low frequency of optional AMs on the basis of style: "optional markers are indicators of formal style and would therefore be inappropriate in less formal styles, such as spontaneous conversation, fiction, and press reportage" (Meyer 1992: 98).

2.2.3.3. Position of AMs

In Section 2.2.3.1 above, AMs were defined as explicit links between the anchor and the appositive. For that reason, their expected position is precisely that between the two units, that is, before the appositive, as shown in (2.65) below. Indeed, some of these links, such as *namely*, *or*, *or rather*, *or better*, *as follows*, *including*, *such as*, *of*, *i.e.*, *viz* and *e.g.*, can only come before the appositive. In this dissertation, I will use the label P1 (Position 1) to denote this position. On the contrary, other AMs can either come in P1 or P3 (Position 3, i.e. after the appositive, as in (2.66) below), although they usually appear in P1. Such is the case of *that is*, *that is to say*, *for example*, *for instance*, *in particular* and *in other words*. *For example* and *for instance* can also occur in the middle of the appositive (P2, i.e. Position 2), as shown in (2.67) below.[16] Finally, other AMs can exclusively come in P3. The clearest example of an obligatorily postponed marker is *included*, as in our earlier example (2.17) above, repeated below for convenience as (2.68).

[16] Cf. Sections 6.4, 7.2 and 8.3.1 below for a deeper discussion of the different positions which EMs can occupy in the exemplifying sequence.

(2.65) The third man, **namely** Mr. Charles Wylde, *remained silent all the time*. (Mathesius 1975: 90-91)

(2.66) a. Dickens' most productive period, **that is (to say)** the 1840s, *was a time when public demand for fiction was growing at a tremendous rate.* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1307)

b. Dickens' most productive period, the 1840s, **that is (to say)**, *was a time when public demand for fiction was growing at a tremendous rate*.

(2.67) a. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example,** burns completely clean. (Paquot 2007)[17]

b. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. **For example**, hydrogen burns completely clean.

c. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen burns completely clean, **for example**.

(2.68) = (2.17) Many people, my sister **included**, *won't forgive him for that.* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1308)

2.3. Summary

The main goal of this section was to shed some light on the notion of apposition. The picture described in the preceding pages shows that apposition is still a rather controversial area of the grammar where linguists have not yet reached agreement. Semantically speaking, apposition is a relation of equivalence between two units which name the same external reality (see Section 2.2). However, total coreferentiality only exists in central or prototypical cases of apposition. In other more marginal appositional types, there is just partial coreferentiality, given that the referent of the appositive is included within the referent of the anchor. From a syntactic point of view, apposition is characterised by the following traits. On the one hand, the appositive is separated from

[17] Page numbers are not available in the electronic version of Paquot (2007) used in this dissertation.

the other elements of the sequence (the anchor included) by means of a pause, which is represented in writing by some punctuation mark, mainly commas (cf. Section 2.2.1). The presence of a pause before the appositive is highly relevant because it makes the construction non-restrictive in meaning, which is a defining trait of apposition. The parenthetical character of the appositive clearly relates apposition with metadiscourse. On the other hand, in most cases the two elements are juxtaposed, that is, they appear next to each other without any explicit link. However, juxtaposition may fail to occur because of two main reasons. First, although anchor and appositive are expected to appear alongside, in some examples the two units are separated by some intervening material (see Section 2.2.2.7). In these examples, different pragmatic reasons may account for such discontinuity. Thus, the appositive is often placed at the end of the sentence when it is too long to appear in pre-verbal position. Second, in some constructions the connection between anchor and appositive is overtly expressed by means of an AM, a binding item which states the semantic relation between the units in apposition (namely a relation of equivalence, attribution or inclusion; see Section 2.2.3). In some cases, the use of AMs is optional, but in some specific appositional types links of this kind are compulsory. Concerning the form-class of the units in apposition, NP is the most common syntactic form, but not the only possible one (cf. Section 2.2.2.4). As a consequence of their predominant nominal status, most appositional constructions carry out a function associated with those of NPs (see Section 2.2.2.5). In central cases of apposition, each unit can be omitted in turn or they can exchange positions in the sequence, although those changes have some impact on the meaning or the grammaticality of the resulting sentence to a greater or lesser extent (cf. Section 2.2.2.6). Finally, it has been noted that appositional constructions resemble copular

constructions (cf. Section 2.2.2.8). As a consequence, anchor and appositive can be linked by means of a copula, or the whole appositional construction can be expanded into a relative clause whose main verb is a copula.

This chapter has also drawn attention to the gradable character of appositional constructions (cf. Section 2.2.2.2). While those examples placed at the core of the category fulfil most of the defining features of apposition discussed in this chapter and their appositional character is not questioned, other examples are less prototypical and therefore far more problematic. Such is the case of the appositional constructions under analysis in this piece of research, namely exemplifying constructions. Chapter 3 is entirely devoted to the study of exemplification.

3. EXEMPLIFICATION

3.1. Defining exemplification

The main aim of this dissertation is the analysis of exemplifying constructions with a selection of four EMs, namely *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. To this end, an examination in depth of the term *exemplification* is in order. Exemplification is, according to Hyland (2007: 270), "a communication process through which meaning is clarified or supported by a second unit which illustrates the first by citing an example". Exemplification is used, therefore, to explain the meaning of a previous statement by designating one of its members. The word *example* ultimately derives from the Latin form *exemplum*, although it was borrowed through French *example*, *exemple* in the Middle Ages. The original meaning of this form was 'something taken out, a sample n., specimen' (*OED*, s.v. *example* n.). As Lyons (1989: 9) points out, *example* is a synonym of PDE *detail*, a form derived from French *detailler* (*de* + *tailler*) and whose original meaning was 'to cut into pieces' (*OED*, s.v. *detail* v.1). In this sense, an example is a piece of a whole which focuses on a given feature of the item exemplified, leaving aside other features of the item at issue (cf. Lyons 1989: 31, 34).

According to du Cange *et al.*'s (1883-1887) *Glossarium*, *exemplum* in medieval Latin meant 'Idem quod Exartum, Essartis, Silvæ vel dumeta in terram cultam redacta' (*Glossarium*, s.v. *exemplum* 2) ("The same as *exartum*, *essartis* [French *essarts*]; woods or brush cleared for cultivation", translated by Lyons 1989: 241). Lyons (1989: 3) elaborates on this idea of *exemplum* as a "clearing in the woods":

> Only the clearing gives form or boundary to the woods. Only the woods permit the existence of a clearing. Likewise, example depends on the larger mass of history and experience, yet without the "clearings" provided by example that mass would be formless and difficult to integrate into any controlling systematic discourse.

Examples are therefore, discursive instruments which help to shape that metaphorical wood (i.e. the text). Nonetheless, useful and convenient as they are, the use of examples has not always been accepted in higher forms of cognition. In fact, they were considered a lower form of reasoning in Classical Antiquity (see Lischinsky 2008: 243). Lyons (1989: ix) explains the stigmatised character of examples on the basis of their obvious and direct format as they are usually introduced by an explicit marker like *for example* (cf. Section 3.2 below). As a consequence, they were considered as appropriate for those who could not follow long or complex arguments (cf. Barnes 1984: 2157).

However, this pejorative conception of examples has vanished over time. In fact, examples, being episodic and concrete, are considered an essential part of higher forms of thought (cf. Lischinsky 2008: 244). Given their stronger persuasive power, examples have a deeper impact on the interlocutor than the general assertions they accompany (see Brosius and Bathelt 1994: 48-50; Gibson and Zillmann 1994: 605; Perry and Gonzenbach 1997: 230-232 and Lischinsky 2008: 247, among others). Besides being a good tool for persuasion and making a text more graspable and easier to understand, examples are also ornamental elements which enrich the text (cf. Lyons 1989: 17). Moreover, they also constitute a relief in the writer's abstract discourse and make the text more accessible for the reader (see Hyland 2007: 282).

3.2. Types of exemplifying constructions

The focus in this section is on the elements which constitute an exemplifying sequence. The following definition of example proposed by Lyons (1989: x) provides a good summary of the structure of an exemplifying sequence:

> An example is a dependent statement qualifying a more general and independent statement by naming a member of the class established by the general statement. An example cannot exist without (a) a general statement and (b) an indication of this subordinate status. Moreover, examples are most frequently used to (c) provide clarification of the general statement and (d) demonstrate the truth of the general statement.

A prototypical exemplifying construction consists therefore of two units: on the one hand, the first unit, which I will call *general element* or *GE*, has a rather broad referent; on the other hand, the second unit (henceforth *exemplifying element* or *EE*), which is more specific and whose referent is included within the referent of the GE. The use of a link which indicates the inclusion of the EE within the GE is compulsory. Typically, this link is one of the EMs listed in Section 2.2.2.1 above, namely *for example*, *for instance*, *including*, *included*, *e.g.*, *like*, *say*, or *such as.*[18] Nonetheless, despite the fact that EMs are obligatory, they can be used implicitly in some cases (cf. Lyons 1989: 26). Thus, in the oral domain inclusion can be expressed by means of intonation, while in the written text this phonic marker may be represented by means of different punctuation marks. Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995) elaborates on phonic-graphic markers as follows:

> Se trata de signos gráficos que aparecen en la lengua escrita –en la que, como es sabido, se trata de representar la oral– para reflejar fenómenos

[18] A complete review of EMs is given in Chapter 6.

> fónicos de entonación y pausa. Cumplen una función similar a la de los marcadores léxicos. La función textual de "ejemplificación" puede estar expresada por los signos de dos puntos y de paréntesis o guiones. En el caso de estos dos últimos se trata únicamente de variantes de estilo. (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 106)

Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995) illustrates this with the Spanish examples below. In (3.1), the beginning of the EE is indicated by means of a colon, whereas dashes and hyphens are used in (3.2) and (3.3) respectively.

(3.1) *Había en la mitología clásica* árboles y arbustos consagrados a ciertos dioses: La palmera y el laurel eran de Apolo; la vid, de Baco; de Cibeles, el pino; de las Erinias o Euménides, el cedro; el ciprés pertenecía a Plutón; a Hércules, el álamo; a Minerva, el olivo; a Júpiter, la encina; a Venus, el mirto y el tilo. (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 106)

(3.2) *La estructura jerárquica de este estamento distingue* varios escalones (arzobispos, abades, curas rurales, religiosos) *que suponen notables diferencias económicas, culturales y sociales*. (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 106)

(3.3) *Las últimas investigaciones tienden a rebajar cuantitativamente el número de* publicaciones —prensa, folletos, etc.— *de carácter ilustrado.* (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 106)

A similar state of affairs is found in English. Consider example (3.4) below by way of illustration. In this example there are two different levels of exemplification. At the first level, the GE is *a range of assets*, and everything following it is the EE, which is indicated by means of a colon. In addition to this exemplifying construction, we find in (3.4) another case of exemplification within the EE. At this level, the GE is *data files* and the EE is *LP records, COBOL programs, word processing documents, etc*., which is delimited by means of brackets.

(3.4) *These components typically include* a range of assets: data files (LP records, COBOL programs, word processing documents, etc.), various pieces of durable hardware, and training, or human capital. (Lischinsky 2008: 254)

On some occasions, the omission of an explicit EM entails a great deal of effort on the part of the reader in order to decode the message. For instance, in (3.5) below no overt linguistic mark establishes the beginning of the EE. It is the reader who has to interpret the last two sentences (*Amazon.com, the on-line bookstore, recently entered into a long-term, exclusive agreement with America Online (AOL) to gain access to AOL's 8.5 million customers. The cost of this deal is in the order of $19 million, which can be understood as the cost of purchasing the attention of AOL subscribers*) as examples of a more general unit (*Any idiot can establish a Web presence –and lots of them have. The big problem is letting people know about it*). This example is particularly demanding for the recipient because it consists of complex elements (i.e. whole sentences) and it lacks a "formal prompt" (Lischinsky 2008: 251) between the units. Examples like this are only possible when the recipient has enough information to understand the whole construction as exemplifying.

(3.5) Any idiot can establish a Web presence –and lots of them have. The big problem is letting people know about it. Amazon.com, the on-line bookstore, recently entered into a long-term, exclusive agreement with America Online (AOL) to gain access to AOL's 8.5 million customers. The cost of this deal is in the order of $19 million, which can be understood as the cost of purchasing the attention of AOL subscribers. (Lischinsky 2008: 251)

It is also possible to find non-formulaic devices introducing examples. These devices are free, non-grammaticalised constructions fulfilling the role of an EM (see Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 104-106). According to Paquot (2008),[19] in English some of these non-grammaticalised devices contain the verbs *exemplify* or *illustrate* usually in the passive voice (cf. example (3.6) below), although they can also occur in

[19] As was the case with Paquot (2007), page numbers are not available in the electronic version of Paquot (2008).

the active voice with a non-human subject (cf. (3.7)). It is also common to find the noun *example* in combination with the verb *to be* to introduce an instance: "X is determiner (adjective) example of Y" and "determiner (adjective) example of Y is X' (cf. Paquot 2008; see (3.8) and (3.9) below).

(3.6) *The mood of the time **is illustrated by** August Weismann who states*: <*>. (Paquot 2008)

(3.7) *As the above cases **illustrate**, the prayer that is proposed to be said in schools may have the opposite effect than what is intended.* (Paquot 2008)

(3.8) *Non-source point pollution does not have a specific location and it unknowingly contaminates water supply. **An example of this is** leaking oil from an engine and the rain carrying it to a water source.* (Paquot 2008)

(3.9) ***This is a prime example of** thinking that does not follow in old footsteps but breaks away from convention and forges new routes. Some of these diseases are life threatening. AIDS **is a perfectly good example of** these diseases.* (Paquot 2008)

The choice between formulaic and non-formulaic exemplifying constructions varies both diachronically and synchronically. From a historical point of view, previous stages of the language show a tendency toward loosely fixed expressions, as in (3.10) and (3.11) below. Such a trend, however, seems to have changed over time, as the corpus-based study carried out in Chapters 7 and 8 shows.

(3.10) ***An ensample of clensynge and of makynge clene is hadde in** herbes and in rotes* […]. *Oyle and waxe **is an ensample** þat þe drastes and filþe be done awaye*. (*HC*, c1425.cmchauli)

'An example of cleansing and of making clean is had in herbs and in roots […] Oil and wax is an example of how to remove the residues and the filth'.[20]

(3.11) *Those sort of creatures know no bounds when they think they have a purse in view that will answer their impudent demands, **an instance of which we may see in what follows**. Sir John, among many mistresses, had one who proved*

[20] An approximate translation is provided for those early examples which may present some difficulty for the reader. On some occasions, only those words which may not be transparent enough are translated within square brackets.

> *a sort of superior favorite and kept her ground much longer than any of her rivals had done, but she proved a very chargeable one, and Sir John at last found her bestowing her favors on somebody else which he would by no means believe she did*. (*ARCHER*, 1727davy.f3b)

Variation between formulaic and periphrastic exemplifying strategies can also be observed cross-linguistically, different languages showing a preference for different exemplifying strategies. When comparing English with Spanish, Fernández-Polo (1999) and Cuenca (2003) conclude that while English favours the use of fossilised unambiguous expressions, in Spanish other non-prefabricated devices are preferred. In other words, English is a language which favours a "writer-responsible" (Fernández-Polo 1999: 280) rhetoric where the authors try to facilitate the readers' work by anticipating any difficulty which they may encounter during the act of reading and avoiding it. Spanish prefers, on the other hand, a "reader-responsible" (Fernández-Polo 1999: 280) rhetoric which forces the readers to make a more active use of their own intellect and judgment to understand what they are reading (cf. Vázquez-Ayora 1977: 351 and Montaño-Harmon 1991: 424).

Finally, it should also be noticed that the choice between EMs and non-formulaic constructions depends, to a great extent, on the speaker's personal choice. Thus, while some speakers opt for grammaticalised formulaic sequences, others prefer more analytic methods. Paquot (2008) comments on the considerable difference existing between native and non-native speakers of a language when it comes to using formulaic and non-formulaic expressions in exemplification. According to this author, learners of a language tend to overuse formulaic sequences such as *for example* or *for instance*, while native speakers prefer combining fixed expressions with other periphrastic devices. This is in line with Granger's (1998: 156) work on pre-fabricated patterns, which shows that

non-native speakers rely on formulaic expressions to a great extent because they lack the vocabulary necessary to develop an argument and they feel more comfortable when using fixed formulas which are easier to recognise and assimilate (cf. Conklin and Schmitt 2008: 72). As stated by Wray (2002:147), the use of prefabricated formulas is especially common during the early stages of any process of acquisition of a foreign language because that is the moment when learners feel less confident of their command of the language they are acquiring and therefore consider prefabricated formulas a safer choice.

In the current dissertation, only exemplifying constructions containing a grammaticalised EM are considered. In Section 3.3 below, exemplification as a type of semantic-syntactic relation is explained in detail.

3.3. Exemplifying constructions with an explicit EM

This section offers a comparison between apposition (cf. Chapter 2) and exemplification. I start by looking at the semantic (cf. Section 3.3.1) and syntactic (cf. Section 3.3.2) relations between the GE and the EE. Then, the syntactic forms which these units usually have in exemplifying constructions are considered in Section 3.3.3. In turn, Section 3.3.4 deals with the functional equivalence between the units in exemplification, whereas Section 3.3.5 considers the relation between exemplification and copular constructions. Finally, Section 3.3.6 distinguishes between restrictive and non-restrictive exemplifying constructions, on the one hand, and between integrated and non-integrated constructions, on the other.

3.3.1. Semantic relation between GE and EE

In Section 2.2.2.1 above, coreferentiality was described as one of the most important characteristics of apposition. In our previous example (2.52), repeated below as (3.12), *the first contestant* and *Lulu* are exactly the same person, that is, the two NPs are coreferential. However, the units in exemplification are only partially coreferential. The EE is an example of the GE, which means that its referent is included within the referent of that general term. In (3.13), for instance, *Rome and Athens* is only an example of *several cities*, but not an equivalent to it. Coreferentiality between these two units is therefore only partial.

(3.12) = (2.52) The first contestant, Lulu, *was ushered on stage*. (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson 2002: 1357)

(3.13) = (2.15) *They visited* several cities, **for example** Rome and Athens. (Meyer 1992: 77)

The EE in example (3.13) consists of two items; in other words, it is an enumeration. However, such enumeration can never provide the whole list of items which comprise the GE. Otherwise, those examples cannot be accepted as exemplifying constructions (cf. Section 6.1.1 and 8.1 below).

3.3.2. Syntactic relation between GE and EE

As seen in Section 2.2.2.3 above, defining the type of syntactic relationship which exists between anchor and appositive is not an easy task. Although it is not a relation of equivalence, it cannot be considered a prototypical relation of dependence either: the anchor exerts some kind of control on the appositive, as well as on the other elements of the sequence (as seen, for example, in verb agreement), but the degree of dependence of the appositive on the anchor is not as strong as in a relation of subordination. As far as

exemplification is concerned, the control which the first element exerts on the second one is clearer than in other types of apposition. This is so because the EE is *per se* more specific and concrete than the GE, which functions as the frame where the example is inserted: the unit with the more specific referent cannot dominate over the unit with the more general referent. In this respect, Lyons' (1989: 24) words are revealing:

> Examples [...] are generally not autonomous texts but are elements within texts. To analyze them in entire separation from their contexts limits the validity of the textual description. [...] [A]ll examples are dependent texts, and [...] they occur in the context of another text, hierarchically superior, which systematizes multiple examples and relates them to a maxim. By this definition examples are not freestanding texts.

This assertion becomes particularly meaningful if we think about examples like (3.14) and (3.15) below. Here, the EEs are independent sentences, but their presence in the discourse is justified by the corresponding GEs.

(3.14) But in various other languages, one form can be used for both of these English relators. **For instance**, in German the relator *wenn* can be used for both temporal and conditional sentences and in the colloquial variety of German there is even no special relator to express the concept of mere conditionality. (Cuenca 2001b: 54)

(3.15) There is also some evidence that increased mortality may occur in eggs which are exposed to relatively low temperatures shortly after they are laid, and which consequently attain little embryonic growth […]. **For example**, eggs laid after freeze-up revealed a general increase in mortality as oviposition extended later into the autumn when temperatures were declining. That this egg mortality was not due to parental ageing was indicated by the similar trends taking place in pods laid by old or young adults. (Biber *et al.* 1999: 23)

3.3.3. Syntactic forms of the units in exemplification

When discussing the syntactic forms which the units in apposition usually take (cf. Section 2.2.2.4 above), it was mentioned that NP is the most common form of both

anchor and appositive. As for exemplification, such assertion does not hold categorically. NPs are very common in exemplifying constructions, and they are indeed the most common type of elements linked by EMs like *including* and *included*, as illustrated in (2.16) and (2.17) above (*many people, including my sister* and *many people, my sister included*, respectively). However, other EMs favour the use of syntactic forms other than NPs. Thus, with *for example* and *for instance*, the units in exemplification typically show a more complex syntactic form, especially sentences, as in examples (3.14) and (3.15) above. Other types of syntactic forms can also occur in exemplifying constructions; these will be the object of study in Sections 7.2.1 and 8.4 below.

3.3.4. Omissibility of one unit and reversal of the elements

In central cases of apposition, given that anchor and appositive refer to the same external reality and work together as a single unit, they carry out the same syntactic function. As a consequence, one of them can, in principle, be left out without significantly affecting the meaning or grammaticality of the resulting construction (cf. Section 2.2.2.5 above). In exemplification, GE and EE also realise the same syntactic function. However, if we take into account the relation of partial coreferentiality entailed by exemplification (cf. Section 3.3.1), it is expected that only the EE can be omitted. The omission of the GE might have various consequences. On the one hand, even if the resulting sequence is grammatical, its meaning may be different, or at least more limited than the general meaning of the original construction. Thus, if we omit the GE *several cities* in (3.13) above, we understand that they only visited Rome and Athens, which does not correspond with the sentence's original meaning. On the other hand, the whole new sequence may be ungrammatical, or it may make no sense at all.

Such is the case of (3.16) below, where the omission of the GE results in an incongruous sentence (cf. example (3.16c)). The main problem here is the anaphoric form *those*, which lacks an antecedent.

(3.16)
a. *In the last eight years,* all Presidential appointments, **including** those of cabinet rank, *have been denied immediate action because of a Senate rule requiring at least a 24 hour delay after they are reported to the floor*. (Meyer 1992: 28)

b. *In the last eight years, all Presidential appointments have been denied immediate action because of a Senate rule requiring at least a 24 hour delay after they are reported to the floor.*

c. **In the last eight years, those of cabinet rank have been denied immediate action because of a Senate rule requiring at least a 24 hour delay after they are reported to the floor.*

Nevertheless, in spite of the general impossibility of omitting the GE, in some examples this unit is not explicitly manifested. The omission of the GE is especially common with the EMs *for example* and *for instance*, as the corpus-based study in Chapters 7 and 8 below shows. Such omission can be explained in terms of the *economy principle* or the *principle of least effort* in language.[21] In the light of these principles, speakers tend to use the slightest amount of effort possible to achieve communication. That is the reason why we frequently use abbreviated forms, such as *maths* for *mathematics*. These principles are closely connected with Grice's *Maxim of Quantity* examined in Section 2.2.1.2 above, which states the following: "Do not make your contribution more informative than is required", i.e. give only the amount of information necessary to achieve communication. One of the first linguists who devoted some attention to the study of this principle was Passy (1890). In his work on phonetic

[21] For further information on these principles see Zipf (1949: 1) or (Vicentini 2003: 37), among others.

change, Passy (1890: 227) clearly states what can be considered the seeds of this principle:

> Le langage tend constamment à se débarrasser de ce qui est superflu. ('Language constantly tends to get rid of that which is superfluous'; my translation)
>
> Le langage tend constamment à mettre en relief ce qui est nécessaire. ('Language constantly tends to highlight that which is necessary'.)

In other words, languages tend to be precise but clear, concise but unambiguous. They avoid any extra information, but do not omit that which is necessary and relevant for the success of every single act of communication. This principle accounts for the omission of the GE in certain examples: the GE is only omitted when it is not necessary for the correct understanding of the whole sequence, that is, in cases in which the EM already points to a pragmatic presupposition (cf. Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 116). However, other scholars do not accept those constructions which lack the first unit as cases of apposition. Thus, Koktová (1985) refers to example (3.17) below when she says that "many of the so-called appositive particles can occur in sentences even without an appositive context" (Koktová 1985: 62):

(3.17) *In the National Park, Terry is going to visit* **for example** the Grand Canyon. (Koktová 1985: 62)

In the present piece of research, constructions where the GE is omitted are accepted as cases of exemplification because, as Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995) asserts, the EM points at a previous GE even if it is not overtly expressed, and that GE can be easily derived from the context.

As far as the arrangement of the units in an exemplifying construction is concerned, the expected order is that from the most general to the most specific unit, that is from the GE to the EE. The impossibility of fronting the EE is illustrated by (3.18) below.

(3.18) a. His excuses, **such as** the breakdown of his car, *never seemed plausible.* (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1315)

b. *The breakdown of his car, **such as** his excuses, *never seemed plausible*.

3.3.5. Exemplification and copular constructions

Given that the units in central cases of apposition are coreferential, the relationship between them is analogous to that of a copular relationship (cf. Section 2.2.2.8). Thus, the appositional construction our earlier example (2.52) can be paraphrased by linking the anchor and the appositive with a copula: "the first contestant *is* Lulu". Nonetheless, given that total coreferentiality does not exist in exemplification, the GE and the EE cannot be linked by means of a copula. Taking example (3.13) again, we cannot say that "several cities *are* Rome and Athens". We can, however, join the GE and the EE by means of a verb denoting inclusion, such as *include* or *involve* (*several cities include Rome and Athens*). Similarly, while most appositional constructions can be expanded into a relative clause whose main verb is a copula, exemplifying constructions can only be turned into a relative clause if the verb denotes inclusion (*they visited several cities, which include Rome and Athens*, but **they visited several cities, which are Rome and Athens*).

3.3.6. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive, integrated vs. non-integrated exemplifying constructions

Although for some authors apposition can be either restrictive or non-restrictive, in this piece of research only non-restrictive constructions are accepted as appositional (cf. Section 2.2.1.1 above). As far as exemplification is concerned, the distinction restrictive vs. non-restrictive is not pertinent, as exemplifying constructions are always non-restrictive in meaning. This does not mean that the EE necessarily appears between pauses. In fact, the presence of a pause generally depends on the EM used in the construction. While the markers under analysis in this dissertation (i.e. *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*) normally introduce an EE which is separated from the GE by a pause (that is, a non-integrated EE), other markers (especially *like* or *such as*, as shown in (3.19) and (3.20) below; see Section 6.3.3) tend to introduce an EE which belongs to the same tone unit as the GE (i.e. an integrated EE). Integrated EEs are also possible when the marker is *including*, although very rarely (see (3.21) below).

(3.19) *There were plenty of aristocrats, even in the great General staff, but there were* plenty of people **like** Ludendorff *who had absolutely no kind of family or anything.* (Meyer 1992: 62)

(3.20) *A general physician, well uses drugs. I mean that's his main, you know, he doesn't cut. He uses drugs and he'll treat, he'll treat* diseases **such as** *initially* a duodenal ulcer. (Meyer 1992: 77)

(3.21) *A separate section of the Territorial Department was opened in May, 1828, for the administration of* miscellaneous subjects of revenue **including** irrigation, roads, bridges, abkari, imposts, pensions, wards and the like. (*OED*, s.v. *abkari* n., 1959 B. B. Misra Central Admin. E. India Company 1773-1834 ii. 88)

In turn, exemplifying constructions with *for example* and *for instance* never introduce integrated EEs. In fact, these two phrases tend to be delimited by pauses, that is, they

usually follow and precede a pause, as shown in (3.22) and (3.23) below. As Cuenca (2001b: 214) puts it, in these examples the EMs are parenthetical links separated from the other elements of the sentence both phonetically and syntactically. However, in most cases there is no difference in meaning when the comma is present and when it is omitted. Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995: 109) illustrates this point by means of the Spanish example in (3.24), but the same applies to English (see (3.25)).

(3.22) A colour complementary in all characteristics to the given colour will be nominally called anti-colour. **For example**, we shall consider as the anti-colour of black the colour white; the anti-colour of a bright red colour being a black-blue-green colour. (*OED*, s.v. *anticolour/anticolor* n., 1977 Biofizika 1976 21 758)

(3.23) Ailments were referred to as 'claims'. **For instance**, the other night this lady's eldest daughter came to her with the information that her sister had got a 'claim' of swollen glands... Soon after this, the mother herself was attacked by a claim of influenza. (*OED*, s.v. *claim* n., 1898 Westm. Gaz. 26 Mar. 3/1)

(3.24) a. *"A- Ya, lo que pasa es que si me dices que* **por ejemplo** tienes la carrera… V… *y encuentras y, o sea, que te va a asegurar… pues que vas a encontrar trabajo… Pero es que nada"*. (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 109)

b. *"A- Ya, lo que pasa es que si me dices que,* **por ejemplo**, tienes la carrera… V… *y encuentras y, o sea, que te va a asegurar… pues que vas a encontrar trabajo… Pero es que nada"*.

(3.25) a. *A block of data can be a member of more than one chain. The personnel file of a company may* **for instance** be chained by factory number, by alphabetical order.., by age. (*OED*, s.v. *chain* n., I.15.i., 1983 Dict. Computing 90/2)

b. *A block of data can be a member of more than one chain. The personnel file of a company may,* **for instance**, be chained by factory number, by alphabetical order.., by age.

Still, she points out that in some cases the pause does make a difference. For example, in (3.26) below, the presence of the pause distinguishes the use of *por ejemplo* as an EM (cf. (3.26b)) from a PP whose meaning is 'as an example' (cf. (3.26a)).

(3.26) a. *Me puso tres libros* ***por ejemplo***. (Fernández-Bernárdez 1994-1995: 110)

b. *Me puso tres libros*, ***por ejemplo***.

3.4. Summary

Exemplification is a discourse strategy used to explain or clarify the meaning of a preceding statement by means of an example. Although in Classical Antiquity the use of examples was considered an inferior form of thought, examples no longer have that pejorative character in the present day. As a matter of fact, nowadays they are an essential part of formal and elaborated text-types. Their value lies in their salience and vividness, two key aspects to catch the recipient's attention.

The comparison between apposition and exemplification provided in this chapter highlights the differences between both types of constructions. On the one hand, the use of a marker is optional in central cases of apposition, but compulsory in exemplification (cf. Section 3.2). Nevertheless, the EM is occasionally replaced by punctuation marks in writing or by a pause in speech. On the other hand, the units involved in exemplification are only partially coreferential: the referent of the EE is included within the referent of the GE (cf. Section 3.3.1). The fact that the EE has a more specific reference does not allow, at least in principle, the omission of the GE or the exchange of position of both units in the sequence (see Section 3.3.4). However, some EMs allow the zeroing out of the GE, especially *for example* and *for instance*. In these cases, the referent of the GE can be deduced from the context. Moreover, given that the relationship between the GE and the EE is one of inclusion, a copular relationship does not exist between them. In other words, the GE and the EE cannot be linked by means of a copula. They can, however, be linked by means of a verb denoting inclusion (cf. Section 3.3.5). As regards

exemplifying constructions, the pause does not play an important role because the EE does not restrict the meaning of the GE; it only explains on it. Nevertheless, there are some exemplifying constructions where the EE may be integrated, that is, where the GE and the EE are pronounced in the same tone unit. Integrated EEs are only possible with some EMs, especially with *like* and *such as*, and only occasionally with *including* (cf. Section 3.3.6). It should be noted that, even in such cases, the construction is never restrictive in meaning.

After this comparative analysis we can conclude that exemplifying constructions are non-prototypical cases of apposition which exhibit some of its defining traits, but not all of them. However, no comprehensive study of exemplifying constructions has been carried out to date. The present dissertation, which analyses the origin and the use of English EMs taking the *OED* and other dictionaries as a source of information and which provides a corpus-based study of a selection of four EMs (i.e. *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*), is therefore fully justified. A more complete picture of exemplification will be eventually obtained from the analysis of EMs in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

> A few years ago, during the recession in Texas, the following joke was going around. The question was: What's the fastest way to become a millionaire in Houston? The answer was: Start out as a billionaire. In the same vein it could be said that the answer to the question, What is the most natural way to become a phoneme? is: Start out as a morpheme. (Hopper 1994: 31)

4. GRAMMATICALISATION

Grammaticalisation was a trendy subject in linguistic studies during the late 20th century, and its popularity still continues in the early 21st century. However, this field of study has always been accompanied by controversy and scholars have shown little agreement when approaching it, which is reflected in the lack of consensus about how to name it. *Grammaticalisation* is the most extended label (see Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a; Lichtenberk 1991; Traugott and Heine 1991b; Lehmann 2002a [1995] and Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993], among others), and it is the one used in this dissertation, but terms like *grammaticisation* (cf. Bolinger 1978; Bybee and Pagliuca 1985 and Hopper 1991) or *grammatisation* (cf. Matisoff 1991) are also found.

I start this review of grammaticalisation by considering some of the most influential works on the topic. After providing some definitions (cf. Section 4.1 below), a detailed analysis of the different areas of language which can be affected by grammaticalisation (namely semantics, pragmatics, syntax and phonology) is offered (cf. Section 4.2), followed by some considerations on the different phases through which processes of grammaticalisation usually go (cf. Section 4.3). Finally, Section 4.4 closes this review by summarising the main points discussed.

4.1. Defining grammaticalisation

The term *grammaticalisation* was coined by Meillet in his 1912 work "L'évolution des formes grammaticales" (see Hopper 1991: 17; Fischer and Rosenbach 2000: 2-8; Campbell and Janda 2001: 95; Lehmann 2002a [1995]; Lightfoot 2003: 103; Traugott 2003: 624 and Smith 2011: 367). Nevertheless, interest in the transition from lexical to grammatical forms existed long before the term itself was coined. As a matter of fact, a distinction between full and empty linguistic symbols was made in the Chinese grammatical tradition as early as the 10th century. Three centuries later, the Yuan Dynasty grammarian Zhou Bo-qi (AD1271-1368) claimed that empty symbols have their origin in full symbols (cf. Harbsmeier 1979: 159; Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 5 and Smith 2011: 369), which basically is the essence of most definitions of grammaticalisation. If we move forward in time to the 18th century, we find the cradle of grammaticalisation studies. Even though the concept of grammaticalisation did not exist as currently understood, the essential principles of this process were already discussed in 18th century grammars (see Jooken 1999: 294). These early studies have their roots in the Indo-European tradition (cf. Fischer and Rosenbach 2000: 8). According to Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991a: 5), "[s]cholars such as the French philosophers Etienne Bonnot de Condillac and Jean Jacques Rousseau [already] argued that both grammatical complexity and abstract vocabulary are historically derived from concrete lexemes". Condillac (2010 [1746]) explained the creation of personal endings of the verbal system by means of the agglutination of personal pronouns with the verb, whereas verbal tenses are derived from the adhesion of temporal adverbs to the verb (cf. Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 1). John Horne Tooke, Condillac's contemporary, is considered by some as the "father of grammaticalization studies" (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer

1991a: 5) since he is one of the first scholars to claim that the "secret" of words is to be found in their etymology (cf. Tooke 1857: 249).

Interest in grammaticalisation continued well into the 20th century, when Meillet's 1912 work became a milestone in linguistic studies. He is claimed to be "the founder of modern grammaticalization studies" (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 8). Meillet defined grammaticalisation as "le passage d'un mot autonome au role d'élément grammatical […] l'attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome" (Meillet 1912: 131; 'the passage of an autonomous word into the role of grammatical element [...] the attribution of grammatical character to a formerly autonomous word', translation by Traugott (2003: 646)). However, the period running from Meillet's publication to the 1970s is a period of amnesia regarding grammaticalisation. Before the publication of Kuryłowicz' *Esquisses Linguistiques II* in 1975 [1965],[22] no work on grammaticalisation was indeed relevant. He defined grammaticalisation as "the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one" (Kuryłowicz 1975 [1965]: 52). This idea of movement towards more grammatical is the basis of most traditional definitions of grammaticalisation and it has been echoed by many linguists. Shortly after Kuryłowicz's work, Givón presented a paper entitled "Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: An archaeologist's field trip". With this paper, the interest in grammaticalisation was definitely reawakened, especially due to his much-cited slogan "today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" (Givón 1971: 394).

[22] Kuryłowicz first published "The evolution of grammatical categories" in 1965, which was later reprinted in his *Esquisses Linguistiques II* in 1975.

Another renowned name in grammaticalisation studies is that of Langacker. Even though he does not use the term *grammaticalisation* (he employs the phrase *syntactic reanalysis*[23]) he describes some changes which are nowadays included under the label *grammaticalisation*:

> It would not be entirely inappropriate to regard languages in their diachronic aspect as gigantic expression-compacting machines. They require as input a continuous flow of creatively produced expressions formed by lexical innovation, by lexically and grammatically regular periphrasis, and by the figurative use of lexical or periphrastic locutions. The machine does whatever it can to wear down the expressions fed into it. It fades metaphors by standardizing them and using them over and over again. It attacks expressions of all kinds by phonetic erosion. It bleaches lexical items of most of their semantic content and forces them into service as grammatical markers. It chips away at the boundaries between elements and crushes them together into smaller units. The machine has a voracious appetite. (Langacker 1977: 106)

The picture of grammaticalisation studies would not be complete without alluding to authors such as Traugott, Hopper, Lehmann, Heine, Reh, Pagliuca, Haspelmath, Janda, Bybee, Norde, Trousdale and Goldberg, among others.[24] The list is especially large in the 1990s, when grammaticalisation studies experience a real boom and grammaticalisation becomes a ubiquitous topic. However, "[t]he boom period of research on grammaticalization was followed by scepticism in recent years. Every single basic tenet of grammaticalization theory became the subject of criticism" (Wiemer and Bisang 2004: 3). In fact, current studies on grammaticalisation do not often deal with grammaticalisation itself. Instead, they discuss the potential existence of

[23] The expression *syntactic reanalysis* is used in this dissertation with a more reduced scope since it only denotes one of the mechanisms at work in grammaticalisation but not the whole process. Reanalysis is discussed in Section 4.2.2. below.

[24] The relevance of these authors will become patent after the discussion of their works in the sections that follow.

other processes which are its reverse (e.g. degrammaticalisation), that is, which go against the notion of unidirectionality in grammaticalisation. However, given that these counterdirectional processes do not have any relevance to the present piece of research, I will not discuss them here.[25] In the sections below, the main characteristics of grammaticalisation already sketched in this section will be considered in depth.

4.2. Grammaticalisation as a global change

Grammaticalisation is a *global* change (cf. McMahon 1994: 161) which affects different areas of the language. In this section, the impact of grammaticalisation on semantics and pragmatics (cf. Section 4.2.1), syntax (cf. Section 4.2.2) and phonology (cf. Section 4.2.3) is considered, and the order in which these changes usually take place is discussed (see Section 4.2.4).

4.2.1. Semantics and pragmatics

4.2.1.1. Source and target meanings

Grammaticalisation always entails a change from a *source meaning* to a *target meaning*. The former is the original meaning of the item undergoing grammaticalisation before the process starts, while the latter is the new meaning ascribed to that form once such

[25] The list of works which can be consulted for information on unidirectionality and counterdirectionality is extremely large. See, for example, Vincent 1980, 1995; Janda 1981, 2001; Lass 1990, 2000; Greenberg 1991; Ramat 1992; Allen 1995; Giacalone-Ramat 1998; Haspelmath 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004; Newmeyer 1998, 2001; Beths 1999; Fischer 2000; Krug 2000; Lass 2000; Wischer 2000; Campbell 2001b; Kuteva 2001; Traugott 2001; van der Auwera 2002; Heine and Kuteva 2002a, 2002b; Lehmann 2002a [1995], 2002b; Norde 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010; Heine 2003a, 2003b; Rosenbach 2004; Taeymans 2004; Yap, Matthews and Horie 2004; Ziegeler 2004; Brinton and Traugott 2005; Brinton 2008; Denison 2010; Diewald 2010; Traugott and Trousdale 2010b or Willis 2010, among others.

process has taken place (cf. Heine 1993: 84). However, traces of the source meaning usually adhere to the grammaticalising form; this is known as *persistence* (cf. Hopper 1991: 22). Grammaticalisation may affect single words, but also more complex elements, especially constructions. The term *construction* may denote "(a) a form-meaning pairing in which the meaning of the whole is not derivable from the parts or (b) a string whose meaning is predictable from its parts, but which occurs with sufficient frequency for it to be stored as a pattern" (Trousdale 2010: 52; see also Goldberg 2006). However, not all the elements of the language have the same probabilities of grammaticalising: some items are more prone to undergo this process than others. Let us see some of the most important characteristics of source items.

First of all, the source form tends to be a frequent item in the language. Thus, common words and phrases which are very frequently used in every-day language are more liable to undergo grammaticalisation than more rarely used forms (see Bybee 2003a: 153). Yet, frequency has a double effect: grammaticalisation affects frequent items and, at the same time, those grammaticalising items become more frequent after the process of grammaticalisation has taken place as they come to be used in a new range of contexts. As Bybee puts it, "[f]requency is not just a result of grammaticization; it is also a primary contributor to the process, an active force in instigating the changes that occur in grammaticization" (Bybee 2007: 336; cf. also Bybee 2003b: 602). Nevertheless, not all linguists agree in that highly frequent items are more likely affected by grammaticalisation than low-frequency items. Back in 1880, Paul (1880: 86) claimed that the recurrent use of common words prevents them from being affected by semantic change because speakers are more reticent to accept new meanings for a word which is well-known for them. Even though Paul's explanation

may sound convincing, evidence does not corroborate it. Bertoncini (1973), in a study on Swahili, finds that all the source elements which underwent grammaticalisation in this language were among the 248 most common words included in her corpus. Surprisingly, however, none of the fifteen most frequent words has been the source of any process of grammaticalisation. Therefore, the data show that grammaticalisation tends to affect common items, though frequency does not guarantee grammaticalisation to take place (cf. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 39 and Newmeyer 1998: 257, 2001: 200). As a consequence, "frequency loses much or all of its force as an explanatory tool or condition of semantic change and grammaticalization" (Forston 2003: 659).

In addition to being frequent items, the source forms undergoing grammaticalisation usually have a general referent. In other words, source items are not specific terms in a given semantic field (*hyponyms*), but they tend to have the most general character in their group (*hyperonyms*; cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 101). For example, *go* but not *walk*, *stroll* or *promenade* (or their equivalents in different languages) has been frequently used as a source form for the development of future auxiliaries. Moreover, for the most part they are words belonging to the core vocabulary of a language. Cross-linguistically, languages have recurrently resorted to the same type of core or basic vocabulary, which is not culturally conditioned (cf. Bybee 2003a: 151). Thus, for example, words denoting parts of the human body are recruited worldwide as source elements in the process of grammaticalisation. In most cases, they give rise to new terms denoting spatial orientation (cf. Aitchison 2003: 41-42; Bybee 2003a: 151 and Heine 2003a: 598). Some common examples of bodily parts which have developed a spatial reference listed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer

(1991b: 152) are the following: 'back' and 'buttock' for the space behind, 'breast', 'chest', 'face', 'eye' and 'head' for the front, 'belly', 'stomach' and 'heart' for inside, 'head' for above, and 'anus' or 'foot' for below. Yet, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 152) note that some bodily parts, such as liver, are less prone to denote spatial reference than other more common parts, though they may still be the source for grammaticalisation in some languages. This is indeed what happened with the Armenian word *mēǰ*, which has two meanings: 'kidneys' and 'middle', i.e. 'in the middle part of the body' (see Hewson and Bubenik 2006: 165). This seems to be, therefore, an unexpected case of grammaticalisation from a low-frequency word meaning 'kidney' to a spatial marker meaning 'middle'.

Once grammaticalisation takes place, the source form may have different outcomes. On the one hand, it may disappear altogether. Such is the case of OE *cunnan* 'know', the source form of the modal verb *can*, which no longer exists as a full lexical verb in PDE (cf. Bybee 2003a: 161). On the other hand, both source and target meanings can coexist in different uses. This is known as *divergence* (cf. Hopper 1991: 24 and Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 118). Thus, for example, the verb *go* has not disappeared as a full verb after its grammaticalisation as a future marker in the construction *be going to*. Another example is that of the indefinite article *a(n)* and the numeral *one*, which have their origin in the OE form *an* (cf. Fischer and Rosenbach 2000: 4).

4.2.1.2. Semantic bleaching, semantic generalisation and pragmatic enrichment

Grammaticalisation brings about important changes in semantics. Two opposing but complementary changes can be distinguished at different stages of the process: *semantic*

bleaching and *semantic generalisation*.[26] According to Hopper and Traugott (2003 [1993]: 94) and Pfenninger (2009: 15), generalisation takes place during the early stages of a process of grammaticalisation, whereas semantic bleaching affects the final stages of the process. Let us examine these two types of semantic change in more detail.

Semantic generalisation is the stage of the process of grammaticalisation which is

> characterized by an increase in the *polysemies* of a form due to *context-induced reinterpretation*. Context-induced reinterpretation refers to the process where the old contexts in which a form or a construction can occur have been generalized to contexts that were unavailable before, which still offers the potential for ambiguity that allows for the structure to continue to be analyzed as before, and at the same time for a new analysis to be innovated, and then to coexist with the earlier analysis. (Pfenninger 2009: 14-15; italics in the original)[27]

Thus, the source item becomes a polysemous word at this stage (cf. Sweetser 1990: 9 and Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 103), which implies that this phase is characterised by "*strengthening* of informativeness" (Newmeyer 1998: 230; italics in the original), i.e. pragmatic enrichment. Words at this intermediate stage are what Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991a: 231) call *hybrids* because they still retain features of their source meaning but at the same time already show traits of the target form. Context is of great importance in this respect. The new meanings are inferred from the contexts where the grammaticalising item occurs, and they are not possible outside those contexts. Notions like *inference* and *implicature* play an important role here (cf. Traugott and König 1991: 204). They are "two sides of the same coin: the

[26] Some authors do not distinguish between these two types of change. See, for example, Bybee and Pagliuca (1985: 59-60) and Haspelmath (1999: 1062), who seem to identify generalisation and weakening of semantic content. In my view, however, generalisation implies the acquisition of new meanings in new contexts and not necessarily the loss of previous semantic content (cf. Eckardt 2006: 31-33).

[27] See Heine's (2002) *bridging context* and Diewald's (2002) *critical context* discussed in Section 4.3.

speaker IMPLIES more than s/he asserts, and the hearer INFERS more than is asserted" (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 285). In his 1975 article "Logic and conversation", Grice already referred to the fact that "it may not be impossible for what starts life, so to speak, as a conversational implicature to become conventionalized" (Grice 1975: 58). In order for implicatures and inferences to have an impact on the item undergoing grammaticalisation, they have to occur rather frequently (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 82). For instance, inferences of causality from temporal elements are conventionalised inferences attested worldwide. Let us take the conjunction *since* as a case in point. In (3.27) below, *since* shows its original temporal use, whereas in (3.28) it has already acquired a causal value. In (3.29), in turn, there is pragmatic ambiguity since context allows for both interpretations (examples taken from Traugott and König 1991: 194).

(3.27) *I have done quite a bit of writing **since** we last met.* (temporal)

(3.28) ***Since** you are not coming with me, I will have to go alone.* (causal)

(3.29) ***Since** Susan left him, John has been very miserable.* (temporal and causal)

After generalisation of meaning, semantic bleaching –also denominated *semantic depletion* (Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 1), *semantic weakening* (Guimier 1985: 158), *desemanticisation* (Heine and Reh 1984 and Pfenninger 2009: 14) and *fleshing out of meaning* (Sweetser 1988: 393)– operates. It consists in the loss of semantic content by the grammaticalising item during the process of grammaticalisation. However, this semantic loss does not take place at random: only those semantic components which restrict the use of the grammaticalising item to their source context are lost (see Samuels 1972: 58 and Roberts and Roussou 2003: 221).

Some scholars maintain that, as a consequence of semantic bleaching, the result or output of grammaticalisation is an impoverished version of the source item or input (see Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 156). However, we have seen that grammaticalisation always entails losses but also gains. Bybee's words are particularly significant in this respect: "[t]he fact is that grammaticalization does not occur in order to make meanings more general (although bleaching is often a byproduct); in fact it occurs because more specific meanings are very useful" (Bybee 2010: 190). In other words, the target meaning of a grammaticalising item is not necessarily semantically poorer than its source meaning: it is more specific.

4.2.2. Syntax

One of the most common syntactic changes involved in grammaticalisation is reanalysis. Reanalysis is defined by Langacker (1977) as "a change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (Langacker 1977: 58). To put it differently, after reanalysis (or *resegmentation* in Langacker's terminology), a structure [(A, B) C] becomes [A (B, C)]. A commonplace example of reanalysis is that of the noun *hamburger*. Originally, this noun was formed by the noun [*Hamburg*] + the suffix [*er*], meaning 'item (of food) from Hamburg'. In the course of time, the constituents of this word were reanalysed as [*ham*] + [*burger*]. This allowed the substitution of *ham* by other nouns, such as *cheese*, *chicken* or *beef*, giving place to new types of burgers (*cheeseburger*, *chickenburger*, *beefburger*; cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 50). As we can see, *Hamburg* was the head of the original form, but after reanalysis *burger* became the new head. Another instance is the grammaticalisation of the future marker *be going to*, which was briefly mentioned in Section 4.2.1.1 above. Originally, the

progressive form of *go* was used with a motion verb in a purposive clause: *be going [to visit Bill]*. After the process of grammaticalisation, this construction was reanalysed as a future marker followed by a verb: *[be going to] visit Bill* (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 68).

A further example of reanalysis concerns the development of the Romance future. In Latin, the future could occur in an OV (*cantare habeo*) or a VO (*habeo cantare*) order. In the transition to Romance languages, the construction *cantare habeo* became fixed and these two independent lexemes fused together into a single unit where the first form (i.e. the infinitive) became the root, and the second form (i.e. *habeo*) became the affix indicating grammatical properties, namely tense, person and number. Thus, *cantare habeo* became *chanter-ai* in French, *cantar-é* in Spanish or *canter-ò* in Italian (see Fleischman 1982; Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 10 and Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 53, among others). In this example, reanalysis brings about other important mechanisms usually related to grammaticalisation. First, *fixation*: as a consequence of the process of grammaticalisation, the grammaticalising form loses its syntagmatic freedom, that is, it comes to occupy a fixed slot within a syntagm (cf. Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 146). Furthermore, when a construction of this kind is reanalysed and acquires a more grammatical status, its constituents usually become tighter, i.e. the relationship or connection between them is closer than in non-grammaticalising contexts. In Lehmann's (2002a [1995]) terminology, this relationship is called *syntagmatic cohesion* or *bondedness*, and the degree of such bondedness may vary from juxtaposition (i.e. the constituents appear next to each other) to fusion or merger (i.e. the grammaticalising item loses its own morpheme identity and becomes part of another morpheme, as happened in the creation of the future in the Romance

languages) through the intermediate stages of cliticisation (i.e. the grammaticalising item becomes adjacent to another element) and agglutination (i.e. the grammaticalising item becomes an affix of another element).

Occasionally, some authors have identified reanalysis with grammaticalisation (see Lord 1976: 179), but such identification does not hold in all cases. Reanalysis is one of the mechanisms which operate in grammaticalisation (the most important one according to Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39). In this respect, Newmeyer (1998: 248) maintains that "without reanalysis, whatever it might be, it is not grammaticalization". Although undoubtedly reanalysis and grammaticalisation very often go hand in hand, one is possible without the other (see Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 169). Grammaticalisation without reanalysis is exemplified by the widely attested transition of a demonstrative element into a definite article ('this man' > 'the man'; see Greenberg 1978: 61) or the numeral *one* into an indefinite article ('one man' > 'a man') in many languages such as Germanic, Romance, Mandarin, Sherpa, Hungarian, Neo-Aramaic, Persian and Turkish languages, among others (cf. Givón 1981: 35). An instance of reanalysis without grammaticalisation is, according to Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 169), the reinterpretation of two independent, main clauses as a new structure where one of the clauses is the matrix and the other is the subordinate clause. Thus, the sequence *She went to bed, she was tired* consists of two independent clauses which are reanalysed, according to these authors, as matrix and subordinate clause conveying cause, respectively ('she went to bed *because* she was tired').

Reanalysis is typically followed by analogy (also denominated *actualisation*; cf. Fanego 2004: 27). The term *analogy*, which goes back to Ancient Greece (cf. Hock

2003: 443), can be of two kinds: *analogical extension* and *analogical levelling* (see Bybee 2010: 66). Analogical levelling brings homogeneity to a given paradigm by eliminating alternations within that paradigm. This type of analogy is responsible, for example, for the loss of vowel alternations in the past tense forms of some English irregular verbs. Vocalic alternation is, however, kept between past and present forms. Let us consider the analogical levelling undergone by the verb *choose* (see Hock 2003: 442):

	OE	PDE
Present	*ceosan*	*choose*
Past singular	*ceas*	*chose*
Past plural	*curon*	
Past participle	*coren*	*chosen*

In OE, different vowels were used in the past forms of this verb (/ea/ and /u/ respectively). This alternation has been lost in PDE, where we find one and the same vocalic element throughout the past (namely /əu/). Vocalic alternation is kept, however, between present and past forms (/u:/ in the present vs. /əu/ in the past).

On the other hand, analogical extension (also known as *four-part analogy*; cf. Hock 2003: 441) has to do with the regularisation between paradigms. It "operates on the basis of a proportional model […] and generalizes a pattern of morphological relationship between given forms to other forms which previously did not exhibit this pattern" (Hock 2003: 441). In order for analogical extension to take place, the structure which functions as the model has to be transparent for the speaker (see Bynon 1977: 35). The *modus operandi* in analogical extension is the following (cf. Hock 2003: 441):

a: a’	*dog: dog-s*
b: X = b’	*cat: cat-s*
…	…
cow	X = *cow-s* (replacing earlier *kine*)

Analogical extension is the reason why most irregular plurals from the early stages of the English language have become regular over time. Nevertheless, some forms have resisted the normalising power of analogy and, as a consequence, irregular plurals are still found in PDE, such as *child-children*, *foot-feet*, *tooth-teeth*, *mouse-mice*, *sheep-sheep* or *fish-fish*, among others. The reason why some items show a stronger resistance to the power of analogical levelling than others is frequency: although changes usually affect those items which are more frequently used in the language, their high frequency may also prevent them from undergoing other changes (cf. Bybee 2010: 66). In this respect, Bybee (2003b: 621) claims that “sound change affects high frequency items first, while analogical levelling affects low frequency items first […] We can say, then, that repetition has a reductive effect on-line, but a conserving effect in storage”.

In short, reanalysis and analogy are different mechanisms having different effects, but they complement each other. On the one hand, reanalysis has a local scope. It brings about the reorganisation of a given syntactic structure, the replacement of older constructions by newer ones or, in other words, the creation of a new set of rules. However, this change is not perceptible, but somehow hidden or invisible. Analogy, on the other hand, “makes the unobservable changes of reanalysis observable” (Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 68) by applying new forms to old constructions, thus changing the surface of those constructions and making the change visible. Therefore, even

though reanalysis is the only mechanism capable of creating new grammatical structures,

> the role of analogy should not be underestimated in the study of grammaticalization. For one, the products of analogy, since they are overt, are in many cases the prime evidence for speakers of a language (and also for linguists!) that a change has taken place. (Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 64)

4.2.3. Phonology

Phonology may also be affected during the process of grammaticalisation. The most important phonological change in such cases is *erosion* (Heine and Reh 1984: 21), also known as *phonological attrition* (Croft 1990: 231 and Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 112) and *phonological decay* (Bichakjian 1987: 88). It consists in the gradual reduction of phonological material, which entails a change "from a morphologically 'heavier' unit to one that is lighter" (Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 106). Examples of phonological erosion are the reduction of the Latin form *ille* to French *le*, the change from Proto-Indo-European **esti* to English *is* or the reduction of Latin *aqua* to French *eau* (examples taken from Lehmann 2002a [1995]: 113). Some instances of phonological change were already pointed out in Section 4.2.2. For example, in order for *be going to* to become *gonna*, the construction lost phonetic substance which eventually allowed the fusion of two independent forms (*going* + *to*) into one single orthographic word (*gonna*). Along similar lines, *cantare habeo* also suffered erosion until the periphrasis became one single word in the different Romance languages.

Erosion only affects a given item in the contexts where it undergoes grammaticalisation, whereas its full form is maintained in other contexts (see Heine

1993: 107). Nevertheless, this does not mean that erosion is confined or concomitant to grammaticalisation: it is possible outside grammaticalisation too (cf. Schiering 2010: 84). Frequency may be the most convincing reason to account for erosion. According to Bybee and Hopper (2001: 10), high-frequency words are more prone to be affected by sound change than low-frequency items. As a matter of fact, it has been noticed that grammatical words tend to be shorter than lexical words (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 106). This is so because they occur more frequently in speech, and as a result their pronunciation becomes weaker. Fowler and Housum's (1987) tests confirm that, when a word occurs in a text for the first time, it is fully pronounced, but its pronunciation is attenuated in subsequent occurrences, given that it is automatically recognised as an old element which no longer needs full phonetic substance. Likewise, when a word undergoes a process of grammaticalisation, it becomes more frequent (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), thus suffering phonetic reduction. Again, and contrary to what some authors claim (see, for example, Heine and Kuteva 2007: 42), we can conclude that grammaticalisation is not the only reason why phonetic reductions take place. In fact, phonetic reduction may merely respond to the natural change of languages or it may be the consequence of the principle of least effort already discussed in Section 3.3.4 (see Newmeyer 1998: 157, 255). In any case, phonetic reduction may be explained independently of grammaticalisation.

4.2.4. Semantic-pragmatic, syntactic and phonological changes in grammaticalisation: What comes first?

In Sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3 we have seen that grammaticalisation is not a distinct process but rather a combination of different interconnected processes which affect all the areas of a language, namely semantics, pragmatics, syntax and phonology. Nonetheless, there

is no consensus on which of these areas is affected first. There is a clear tendency to consider that in most cases phonology is the last area to be affected in a process of grammaticalisation. Greater discrepancy is found, however, when it comes to establishing whether semantic-pragmatic changes trigger changes in syntax or vice versa. Let us start by looking at semantics, pragmatics and syntax.

Scholars like Heine (1993: 48), Haspelmath (1999: 1063) and Traugott (2003: 635-6), among others, claim that it is semantic-pragmatic change that brings about changes in syntax. For them, conceptual shift and pragmatic ambiguity are prerequisites for the analysis of an old construction in a different way. On the contrary, Harris and Campbell (1995: 92) claim that reanalysis results in semantic bleaching. For other authors, however, changes in semantics and in syntax operate in parallel in grammaticalisation (cf. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1991: 41 and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 279). Possibly, as Newmeyer (1998: 249) states, "there is some degree of truth to all […] these positions. Sometimes the semantic changes precede the morphosyntactic changes, sometimes they accompany them, and sometimes they follow them".

As far as phonology is concerned, most authors regard phonological change as a consequence of the highly frequent use of items undergoing grammaticalisation. As mentioned above, phonology is, in most cases, the last domain of a language to be affected by grammaticalisation. Nevertheless, the opposite situation may also occur. Thus, Newmeyer (1998) states that "[c]losely connected to opacity-caused reanalyses are those in which regular phonological change leads to the loss of previously existing cues as to the structure, thereby triggering reanalysis of that structure" (Newmeyer

1998: 243). In other words, sometimes phonological changes external to grammaticalisation may bring about the reanalysis of an old construction.

I close this review on the different types of change involved in grammaticalisation by emphasising that each grammaticalisation process is different and peculiar (cf. Fischer and Rosenbach 2000: 2). As already mentioned, not all the changes discussed above have to occur. For this reason, no generalisation can be made as regards the order in which such changes take place.

4.3. Phases in the process of grammaticalisation

Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002) have identified a series of phases in grammaticalisation processes. These two proposals, which are rather similar but differ in certain respects, and not only as regards terminology, are explained in what follows. An additional stage identified by Diewald and Smirnova (2010) is also considered.

Bernd Heine (2002: 83-99) proposes the existence of four different stages in the process of grammaticalisation:

- Stage I: *Initial stage*. At this first stage, the item shows its original source meaning, the input for grammaticalisation. In a sense, it could be said that this is a neutral meaning which does not depend on the context, but is inherent to the item itself.

- Stage II: *Bridging context*. Semantic change takes place at this point: the source meaning is still there, but the context in which the item appears also allows for

an alternative interpretation. This new nuance of meaning of the grammaticalising item is, in Grice's (1975) terminology, an *inference*, *implicature* or *suggestion*. Even though the new or target meaning is the most likely one to be inferred, it is not incompatible with the source meaning at this stage.

- Stage III: *Switch context*. The original meaning is no longer possible at this stage. Although the item has completely acquired a new meaning, this still depends on the context, as it can only be inferred under certain conditions. This stage is the most important one in Heine's model because it is the crucial point where the source and the target meanings become incompatible: in those cases where the source meaning is possible, the target meaning is automatically ruled out, and vice versa.

- Stage IV: *Conventionalisation*. This is the final stage of the process of grammaticalisation. Context is no longer important at this point because the newer meaning does not depend on it any more: the grammaticalising item extends its original domain and can be used in new contexts. Therefore, the target meaning becomes independent and is no longer associated to the source one.

Diewald (2002: 103-117) has proposed an alternative division of the process of grammaticalisation into three different stages:

- *Untypical context*: A given item is used in a context where it had not been used before. At this point, the new meaning may depend on the context.

- *Critical context*: At this stage, many structural and semantic ambiguities allow for different interpretations of the grammaticalising item, including the new grammatical meaning.

- *Isolating context*: At this final stage, the new grammatical meaning separates from the old lexical one. No ambiguity is possible here since old and new meanings are mutually exclusive.

In 2012, Diewald and Smirnova developed further this three-stage model by adding a fourth context, which they call the *paradigmatic context*. At this stage, the source and target forms have greatly diverged over time, and the target item becomes part of a new paradigm. According to the authors, the first three stages of the grammaticalisation process imply a gain in autonomy, whereas in the fourth stage such autonomy is lost since the target form is now dependent on a new paradigm.

Table 2 below contrasts Heine's (2002) and Diewald's (2002) stages of grammaticalisation, and also includes Diewald and Smirnova's (2012) addition. As shown in the table, Diewald does not mention either the *initial stage* or the *switch context*. In turn, Heine's *bridging context* covers Diewald's *untypical* and *critical contexts*. What Heine denominates *conventionalisation* corresponds to Diewald's *isolating context*. Finally, Diewald and Smirnova's (2012) *paradigmatic context* has no correlation in Heine's (2002) classification.

A few words of clarification are in order before closing this section. First, not all the items undergoing grammaticalisation complete the whole process, some of them stopping at some intermediate stage. Moreover, a clear distinction between the three or four stages (depending on the proposal considered) cannot be established in

Table 2. Heine's (2002) vs. Diewald's (2002) and Diewald and Smirnova's (2012) stages in the process of grammaticalisation

Heine (2002)	**Diewald (2002) and Dievald and Smirnova (2012)**
Initial stage	
Bridging context	Untypical context
	Critical context
Switch context	
Conventionalisation	Isolating context
	Paradigmatic context

grammaticalisation, given that the process is a continuum and not a juxtaposition of independent phases.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter, grammaticalisation has been described as the movement towards greater grammaticality, that is, the change from lexical to grammatical status or from less grammatical to more grammatical status. Items undergoing grammaticalisation (the *source* elements) tend to be frequent ones in the language and have a basic meaning, whereas the output of grammaticalisation (the *target* element) has a more specific semantic scope (see Section 4.2.1.1). As seen in this chapter, context is decisive in order for a given item to grammaticalise: the new nuances of meaning acquired by the source item are pragmatically conditioned and will only be inferred in the grammaticalising context, but they will not be available in other uses of the source form. After an initial

phase of semantic enrichment, the source construction loses some shades of meaning in the latter stages (*semantic bleaching*; cf. Section 4.2.1.2), though some traces of the original meaning generally resist the process of grammaticalisation, thus showing *persistence* (cf. Section 4.2.1.1). As far as syntax is concerned, the structure of the source construction may be analysed in a different way during the process of grammaticalisation. This *reanalysis* would not be visible without the work of *analogy*. Phonology may also be affected by grammaticalisation. In the final steps of the process of grammaticalisation erosion usually takes place (see Section 4.2.3). This may be explained on account of frequency factors: grammatical items are more frequent than lexical items and, as a consequence, phonetic substance may be reduced. Finally, Diewald (2002) and Heine (2002) emphasise the gradual character of the process of grammaticalisation by dividing it into different phases (cf. Section 4.3).

As recurrently emphasised in this chapter, grammaticalisation is a global change whose effects are manifested at different levels. Grammaticalisation typically involves changes in semantics, pragmatics, syntax and phonology, though these changes are not compulsory or do not have to go to completion, and can take place in different chronological orders in different instances of grammaticalisation. Moreover, the various changes identified in grammaticalisation are not unique to grammaticalisation itself, but can also take place in non-grammaticalising contexts.

5. METHODOLOGY

Chapter 5 represents a turning point in this piece of research. While Chapters 2 to 4 above offered a theoretical review of various notions relevant to this study, namely apposition, exemplification and grammaticalisation, the dissertation acquires from now on a more empirical character. Thus, Chapter 6 provides an analysis of current and obsolete English EMs, mostly on the basis of information taken from dictionaries, especially the *OED*. Chapters 7 and 8, in turn, offer a corpus-based study of four selected EMs: *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. In the present chapter, the different materials used for the practical part of the dissertation are described.

5.1. The *OED*, the *MED* and other dictionaries

As mentioned above, the backbone of Chapter 6 is the *OED*. The *OED* "is an unsurpassed guide to the meaning, history, and pronunciation of 600,000 words –past and present– from across the English-speaking world" (<http://oed.com/public/About/about>). What makes this dictionary so different and outstanding is its combination of the present-day meanings and uses of English words with information about their origin and development over the different historical periods. All the entries are illustrated with quotations, totalling some 3 million quotations altogether. The *OED* started life more than 150 years ago. In 1857, the Philological Society of London decided that English needed a more complete and extensive dictionary. After many years of work, the *OED* was published in fascicles

from 1884 to 1928. The changing character of the language forced the editors to update the first edition via a number of supplements published from 1933 to 1986. A second, integrated edition was published in 1989, and was shortly followed by an electronic edition in CD-ROM in 1992. At present, the *OED* is also available online at <http://oed.com/>, a version which is revised and updated every three months. In this dissertation, the *OED* online is used to trace the origin of English EMs and to explain their meanings. Not only that, it is also used as a corpus so as to find any relevant examples which may provide evidence of the grammaticalisation of the markers under analysis in order to complement the corpus data. The use of the *OED* as a corpus is defended by authors such as Mair (2001) and Hoffmann (2004), among others, who justify its usefulness for quantitative and qualitative analysis on the basis of the varied range of sources used for the quotations included in it and the veracity of those quotations. However, I will only use the *OED* quotations database to find examples where the markers under analysis (i.e. *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*) are not fully grammaticalised, but not for a quantitative study. Using the *OED* as a corpus was a time-consuming task. Given that the earliest occurrences of the selected markers are not always recorded in the entry for the item at issue (i.e. they do not always appear in the entries for *include*, *example* and *instance*), I had to search for all their occurrences with the "Advanced search" tool. This provided me with hundreds of examples which had to be checked manually.

The *MED* is used to complement the historical data taken from the *OED*. The printed version of the dictionary, published in 2001, offers "a comprehensive analysis of lexicon and usage for the period 1100-1500, based on the analysis of a collection of over three million citation slips, the largest collection of this kind available"

(<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>). The *MED* online "goes far beyond this" (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>) by turning the dictionary into an electronic database. The *MED* forms, together with the *HyperBibliography of Middle English Prose and Verse* (based on the *MED* bibliographies) and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (*CMEPV*, a reliable collection of texts from the Middle Ages), the *Middle English Compendium*. For this study, especially the *MED* online but also the *CMEPV* have been used.

In addition to the *OED* and the *MED*, I have also used a wide range of PDE dictionaries and usage manuals which allowed me to identify the main similarities and differences between the EMs under analysis:

- *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*
- *Collins COBUILD's English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*
- *Collins English Dictionary Online*
- *Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online*
- *Miss Thistlebottom's Hobgoblins. The Careful Writer's Guide to the Taboos, Bugbears, and Outmoded Rules of English Usage*
- *Modern American Usage. A Guide*
- *Oxford Dictionaries Pro Online*
- *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary Online*
- *Style Guide. The Economist*
- *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*
- *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage*
- *The Free Dictionary Online*

- *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*
- *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage*
- *The Tipping Point. How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*
- *The Wordwatcher's Guide to Good Writing and Grammar*
- *The Writer's Art*
- *Third New International Dictionary*

5.2. The corpora

As stated in Chapter 1, the main aim of this piece of research is to offer a thorough analysis of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* from both a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. For my purposes, I have selected eight computerised corpora, two for the historical analysis (cf. Section 5.2.1) and six for the description of contemporary English (cf. Section 5.2.2).

5.2.1. Historical corpora

For the diachronic analysis (Chapter 7), the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (*HC*) and *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (*ARCHER*) have been used. These two corpora together cover the whole history of the English language. The division into periods proposed in this study and the number of words analysed per period are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Chronological division of the data and number of words per period in the historical analysis

	Time span	**Number of words**
ME	1150-1499	650,354
EModE	1500-1710	781,152
LModE	1711-1899	699,810
20th century	1900 -1999	366,714
Total	1150-1999	2,498,03

No examples with *including*, *included*, *for example* or *for instance* were found in OE, which is the reason why this period is disregarded in this study. Therefore, the earliest material analysed dates from the Middle Ages. For the Middle English (ME) period, the data are taken from the *HC*, while for Late Modern English (LModE) and the 20th century the data are provided by *ARCHER*. For Early Modern English (EModE), however, the material comes from the two corpora, given the overlap of texts from the *HC* and *ARCHER* from 1650 to 1710. The division of the data into the different periods follows, for ME and EModE, the division proposed by the compilers of the *HC*, that is from 1150 to 1499 and from 1500 to 1710 respectively. For LModE and the 20th century, the turn of the century is taken as a point of reference.

5.2.1.1. The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal (HC)[28]

The compilation of the *HC* started in 1984 by a group of scholars based at the University of Helsinki under the direction of Professor Matti Rissanen. At present, this

[28] The information in this section is taken from Kytö (1996).

corpus is available in the *ICAME* CD-ROM. As its name suggests, it is divided into two parts: one dialectal and one diachronic. The dialectal part, which includes transcriptions of interviews with people from the rural Great Britain from the 1970s, has not been used in this study. The diachronic part consists of texts from approximately the year 750 to 1710, divided into three periods, OE, ME and EModE, and 11 subperiods: four in OE and ME and three in EModE. The importance of this corpus lies precisely in the time span which it covers. Since its texts date from the 8th to the early 18th century, the *HC* allows linguists to study the development of a particular form or construction from OE to the end of the EModE period. However, even if it covers such a long time span, it is a medium size corpus with approximately 1.5 million words. This means that the corpus may not contain enough examples of the form or structure under investigation from each period, and that only high-frequency items or constructions are likely to appear in it. Another drawback of this corpus is the unbalanced number of words from each subperiod, as shown in Table 4. The significant dissimilitude in the number of words from each period becomes patent here, the first OE subperiod (OE I) being remarkably small (it consists of only 2,190 words). This is not at all surprising if we take into account that only a reduced number of texts have come down to us from the early part of OE. In contrast, more than 170,000 words are available for each EModE subperiod.

Table 4. Number of words per subperiod in the *HC* (from Kytö 1996)

SUBPERIOD			WORDS	%
OE	I	-850	2,190	0.5
	II	850-950	92,050	22.3
	III	950-1050	251,630	60.9
	IV	1050-1150	67,380	16.3
	TOTAL		413,250	100.0
ME	I	1150-1250	113,010	18.6
	II	1250-1350	97,480	16.0
	III	1350-1420	184,230	30.3
	IV	1420-1500	213,850	35.1
	TOTAL		608,570	100.0
EModE	I	1500-1570	190,160	34.5
	II	1570-1640	189,800	34.5
	III	1640-1710	171,040	31.0
	TOTAL		551,000	100.0

As regards its textual coverage, the *HC* is a multigenre corpus containing material from different genres. Table 5 shows the relation genre-period:

Table 5. Genres in the *HC* per period (from Kytö 1996)

OE	ME	EModE
Law	Law	Law
Document	Document	
Handbook Astronomy	Handbook Astronomy	
Handbook Medicine	Handbook Medicine	
	Handbook other	Handbook other
Science Astronomy	Science Medicine	Science Medicine
		Science other
		Educational Treatise
Philosophy	Philosophy	Philosophy
Homily	Homily	
	Sermon	Sermon
Rule	Rule	
Religious Treatise	Religious Treatise	
Preface/Epilogue	Preface/Epilogue	
	Proceeding/Deposition	Proceeding/Trial
History	History	History
Geography		
Travelogue	Travelogue	Travelogue
		Diary private
Biography, life of a saint	Biography, life of a saint	Biography, Autobiography
		Biography, other
Fiction	Fiction	Fiction
	Romance	
	Drama, Mystery play	Drama, Comedy
	Letter, Private	Letter, Private
	Letter, Non-Private	Letter, Non-Private
Bible	Bible	Bible

These text-types can be grouped into larger categories, namely expository, instruction-religious, instruction-secular, narration-imaginative, narration-non-imaginative and statutory. This wider division guarantees that, even though not all the text-types appear in the three periods under analysis, a certain generic continuity is maintained diachronically.

At the beginning of each text we find a description of certain textual parameters, such as text-type, type of audience, author, dialect, etc. This description is made through a series of reference codes which show the following format:

(1) <B = Name of Text File

(2) <Q = Text Identifier

(3) <N = Name of Text

(4) <A = Author

(5) <C = Part of Corpus

(6) <O = Date of Original

(7) <M = Date of Manuscript

(8) <K = Contemporaneity

(9) <D = Dialect

(10) <V = Verse or Prose

(11) <T = Text-type

(12) <G = Relationship to Foreign Original

(13) <F = Foreign Original

(14) <W = Relationship to Spoken Language

(15) <X = Sex of Author

(16) <Y = Age of Author

(17) <H = Social Rank of Author

(18) <U = Audience Description

(19) <E = Participant Relationship

(20) <J = Interaction

(21) <I = Setting

(22) <Z = Prototypical Text Category

(23) <S = Sample

(24) <P = Page

(25) <R = Record

These reference codes not only provide textual information, but they also allow the researcher to make computer searches through the material selectively, restricting the search to the part of the corpus which fulfils a defined set of criteria.

5.2.1.2. A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER)[29]

ARCHER was originally compiled under the supervision of Professor Douglas Biber and Professor Edward Finegan at the Universities of Northern Arizona and Southern California in the early 1990s. Over the years, there have appeared a number of versions of the corpus: *ARCHER 1* (1990-93), *ARCHER 2* (2004-05), *ARCHER 3.1* (2006)[30] and *ARCHER 3.2* (2013). From the initial project arisen from the collaboration between two

[29] For more information on *ARCHER*, see Biber, Finegan and Atkinson (1994); Biber *et al*. (1994); Yáñez-Bouza (2011); López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2012a), among others, or consult the *ARCHER* website: <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lel/research/projects/archer/>

[30] *ARCHER 3.1* is the version used in this study. Therefore, the description of *ARCHER* given in this section corresponds to this version and not to the latest one which has been released (3.2).

universities, this project greatly expanded until its last version, in which a consortium of fourteen universities are involved:

- Department of English, Northern Arizona University (NAU)
- Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California (USC)
- Department of English, University of Michigan
- Department of English, University of Helsinki
- Department of English, Uppsala University
- Department of English I, University of Freiburg (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)
- Department of English, University of Heidelberg (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)
- Department of English, University of Bamberg (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)
- Department of English Studies, University of Trier
- Department of English, University of Zurich
- Department of Linguistics and English Language, University of Manchester
- Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University
- School of English, Sociology, Politics & Contemporary History, University of Salford
- Research Unit on Variation, Linguistic Change and Grammaticalization; Department of English and German, University of Santiago de Compostela

ARCHER can be accessed at a consortium university and online upon signature of a user's agreement. Like the *HC*, *ARCHER* is a multigenre corpus which contains material illustrative of the following text-types:

- d = drama
- f = fiction
- h = sermons
- j = journal and diaries
- m = medicine
- n = news
- s = science
- x = letters

It covers from ca. 1650 to 1999 and contains data from both BrE and AmE. The British component is more comprehensive. It is divided into seven periods of 50 years each. The American part, by contrast, contains in *ARCHER 3.1* material for only three periods of 50 years each corresponding to the second halves of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Biber and Finegan (1997) explain that the "the lesser sampling of American texts was motivated not by theoretical considerations but by expedience, in response to a task that turned out to be bigger than the available resources" (Biber and Finegan 1997: 273). Tables 6 and 7 below show the chronological coverage of these two varieties of English in *ARCHER*. The data are divided according to text-type.

Every period in *ARCHER* usually contains 10 texts of at least 2,000 words per text-type. The total number of words in this corpus is 1,700,000, about the same size as the *HC* (cf. 5.2.1 above). For this dissertation, only the BrE component of *ARCHER* was used for two main reasons: on the one hand, the data from AmE are incomplete; on the other, the *HC* contains exclusively BrE data. Therefore, I decided to discard the American component of *ARCHER* in order to make the data from the two corpora comparable.

Table 6. Chronological coverage of the British part of *ARCHER*[31]

	d	**f**	**h**	**j**	**m**	**n**	**s**	**x**	**TOTAL**
1650-99	26,648	41,512	11,146	21,374	23,117	22,292	21,441	12,659	180,189
1700-49	25,177	44,021	10,664	21,443	21,936	21,612	20,780	12,093	177,726
1750-99	23,962	45,056	11,068	21,843	21,003	23,087	20,565	12,091	178,675
1800-49	26,267	44,946	11,089	21,740	20,278	22,903	20,994	12,576	180,793
1850-99	26,469	43,289	10,953	22,686	22,143	23,066	21,715	10,705	181,026
1900-49	23,048	45,274	10,569	22,066	20,204	21,975	21,337	12,434	176,907
1950-99	24,450	45,095	10,190	22,225	20,794	22,920	21,308	11,259	178,241
TOTAL	176,021	309,193	75,679	153,377	149,475	157,855	148,140	83,817	1,253,557

Table 7. Chronological coverage of the American part of *ARCHER*

	d	**f**	**h**	**j**	**m**	**n**	**s**	**x**	**TOTAL**
1750-99	27,331	42,417	10,987	22,109	23,433	22,271	20,664	11,056	180,268
1850-99	24,214	44,224	10,740	22,534	20,424	21,992	21,326	11,253	176,707
1950-99	23,810	44,214	10,123	22,131	22,473	23,072	21,343	11,611	178,777
TOTAL	75,355	130,855	31,850	66,774	66,330	67,335	63,333	33,920	535,752

ARCHER has been used by many linguists to study changes which have taken place in the recent history of the English language, especially in the LModE period. However, it shares some of the limitations mentioned above for the *HC* (Section 5.2.1.1). For example, it covers a long time span in the history of English, but its size is quite small for such a long period. This means that basically high-frequency items and

[31] Tables 6 and 7 are taken from the *ARCHER* website: <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lel/research/projects/archer/>

structures are recorded in the corpus, whereas low-frequency words or constructions are less likely to be attested.

5.2.3. PDE corpora: LOB, FLOB, BE06*;* BROWN, FROWN, AE06

This section describes the PDE corpora used in this dissertation. They are considered together because of their enormous structural similarities, which are by no means coincidental. As a matter of fact, these six corpora are grouped into what is called the *BROWN family of corpora*,[32] a name taken after the first corpus of this series to be compiled, i.e. the *BROWN* corpus, which was used as a model for the compilation of the other five corpora. Their texts differ as regards the variety of English (BrE vs. AmE) and the time span covered (1960s, 1990s and 2000s). The fact that these six corpora share a similar structure but contain texts from different years and two geographical varieties of the language allows both a diachronic and a dialectal study of PDE. Table 8 below provides some basic information about each corpus.

This family of corpora started with *BROWN*, which contains texts printed in the US during the year 1961. This was the first computer-readable corpus of modern English texts. The *LOB* corpus was intended as a BrE counterpart to *BROWN*, with texts dating from the same date. Thirty years later, in 1991, Professor Christian Mair took the initiative to compile two new corpora which matched the successful *BROWN* and *LOB* corpora, but which contained texts from the early 1990s. As was the case with the *HC*, these four corpora are available in the *ICAME* CD-ROM. More recently,

[32] The label *BROWN family of corpora* usually applies to *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *FROWN*. The information on these four corpora is taken from the *VARIENG* website (http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/).

Table 8. PDE corpora used in this study

	1960s	**1990s**	**2000s**
BrE	***Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB)*** Project leaders: Geoffrey N. Leech (University of Lancaster), Stig Johansson (University of Oslo), Roger Garside (Lancaster University) and Knut Hofland (Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities at Bergen)	***Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB)*** Project leader: Christian Mair (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)	***British English 2006 (BE06)*** Project leader: Paul Baker (Lancaster University)
AmE	***A Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English (Brown)*** Project leaders: Nelson Francis and Henry Kučera. (Brown University)	***Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (FROWN)*** Project leader: Christian Mair (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)	***American English 2006 (AE06)*** Project leader: Paul Baker (Lancaster University)

Professor Paul Baker has extended the *BROWN* family by adding a new pair of corpora: *BE06* and *AE06*, which can be downloaded from Baker's personal webpage.[33] 82% of the texts in these corpora were published between 2005 and 2008. The median sampling date is 2006, hence their name.

[33] See <http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/profiles/Paul-Baker/>

Leaving these differences aside, the *BROWN* family of corpora show a very similar structure. They are all one-million-word corpora consisting of 500 samples where each text is about 2,000 words long. The texts belong to 15 different categories, which are listed below:

A: Press: Reportage

B: Press: Editorial

C: Press: Review

D: Religion

E: Skills, trades and hobbies

F: Popular lore

G: Belles lettres, biographies, essays

H: Miscellaneous[34]

J: Science

K: General fiction

L: Mystery and detective fiction

M: Science fiction

N: Adventure and western

P: Romance and love story

R: Humour

These texts represent a wide variety of styles and types of prose.[35] These fifteen text-categories can be divided into two groups: Categories A-J contain informative prose, while Categories K-R represent imaginative prose. As Kjellmer (1998: 160) points out,

[34] This category comprises the following text-types: government documents, foundation reports, industry reports, college catalogues and industry house organs.

[35] Verse samples are not included in these corpora.

"there is a sharp divide between non-fiction (categories A-J) and fiction (categories K-R)" which broadly responds to a split into formal and informal text-types.

5.2.4. WordSmith Tools

One of the main advantages of electronic corpora is the possibility of using electronic text-analysis tools. For my purposes in the dissertation I used WordSmith Tools version 3.0, which is a computer program for the analysis of words in texts. The main applications of this software package are WordList, Concord and KeyWords, of which only WordList and Concord have been used.

The WordList tool generates a list of words from a text or a number of texts. These lists can show alphabetical or frequency order. The frequency list is useful to find out how frequent an item is in different texts or genres, allowing a comparison between texts. The alphabetical list, in turn, is the quickest way to know if a word occurs in a given text.

Concord is a program which spots the items subject to investigation without the necessity of reading the whole texts. Broadly speaking, we can say that a concordance is a list of all the examples found of a given item where such item appears in its linguistic context. Concordances allow us to study how words behave in texts (e.g. which collocates they take).

Finally, the KeyWord tool identifies those words whose frequency is extraordinarily high in a given text in comparison with another text, which is the reference file. This tool is especially useful to describe the most salient characteristics

of a given text or genre. Potential applications of this tool include language teaching, forensic linguistics, stylistics, content analysis and text retrieval, among others.

5.3. Additional sources

Further information on EMs was retrieved from reputable grammar blogs where these forms were discussed. The fact that a modern means of communication like blogs devote attention to EMs may suggest that EMs are probably arising people's interest at present. I will mention here two of these blogs: *Grammarphobia* and David Crystal's blog. *Grammarphobia* is a blog created by Patricia T. O'Conner and her husband Stewart Kellerman. O'Conner is the author of several books (two of them co-authored with Kellerman) about the English language,[36] and has also collaborated extensively with *The New York Times*. In the *Grammarphobia* blog, O'Conner and Kellerman answer questions about the English language using the information provided in the *OED*, which makes their blog highly reliable. In turn, David Crystal's blog has a similar functioning.

5.4. Procedure and problems in the analysis of the data

The use of electronic corpora and text-analysis tools makes the work of the corpus linguist much easier and less time-consuming. In spite of this, the linguist needs to be extremely meticulous and careful in his/her work. In this section, I explain how I

[36] See, for example, O'Conner 2000, 2010 [2003] and O'Conner and Kellerman 2009.

proceeded with the search of the markers under analysis and comment on some of the problems or drawbacks derived from the use of electronic corpora.

When searching for a word in a corpus, any potential variant of that word has to be taken into account. If the study is a historical one, both the orthographic and the morphological variants should be considered. Thus, I checked all the potential spellings of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* and searched for all the morphologically related forms of the verb *include* and the nouns *example* and *instance* in order to make sure that no unexpected form morphologically related to these was used as an EM in previous stages of the language. To this end, I first looked for all the potential variants of the markers under investigation in the *OED* and then checked if those forms occurred in the corpora by making a WordList. In the case of *including* and *included*, this resulted in a collection of examples where any form of the verb *include* appeared, not only *including* and *included*, but also *include*, *includes*, *includith*, and even other non-verbal forms such as *inclusive*, *includingly* and *inclusus*. In the case of the marker *for example*, I had to be especially careful with the noun *example*, as it had a wide variety of spellings in the Middle English period: *example, exampylle, exemple, exsample, exsampyl, ensample, ensampille, ensampull, ensaumpile, ensaumple, ensawmple, ansaumple, asampil* and *exemplum*. Once all these forms were obtained with the search tools, I pruned the resulting concordances, reading all the examples and separating those occurrences of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in all their variants from those cases where these forms occurred but which were not relevant to my study.

An important problem derived from the use of electronic corpora has to do with the insertion of codes in the body of the text by the compilers. These codes are especially problematic in the searches for the markers *for example* and *for instance* as they may intervene between the preposition and the noun. The fragment below (taken from *FLOB*) serves as an illustration.

(5.1) *^In F06 162 fact, in some countries legislation was passed prohibiting any F06 163 excessive ostentation on the {*1lit de parade}. ^*0In Milan,* ***for*** *F06 164* ***example****, women were not allowed to use counterpanes of embroidered F06 165 silk, or stitched with gold or silver thread, nor to wear silk F06 166 camisoles when receiving callers*. (*FLOB*, F06 164)

Here, *for* and *example* are separated by the codes *F06 164*. If we search for *for example* or *for instance* as a whole, examples like (5.1) would not be recognised by the concordancer. Therefore, in order to avoid the exclusion of examples of this kind, I had to search for the nouns *example* and *instance* and then discard all those cases where these nouns are not part of an EM. Example (5.1) also shows how the use of textual codes renders the reading and comprehension of texts more difficult.

Given that some early texts in the *HC* contain graphemes which no longer exist today, this corpus makes use of special characters to represent those letters. Thus, instead of, for example, <þ>, <ʒ> or <ð>, we find the symbol "+" plus some current letters, i.e. "+t", "+g" and "+d", respectively. The following extracts (taken from the manual of the *HC*) show the original text containing the original graphemes and the version provided in the *HC*.

Source text:

(5.2) *Ah nis nawt*
*bi **þ**eos iseid. **þ** ha forrotie**ð** **þ**rin.' **3**ef ha hare wed*
*lac lahe-liche halde**ð**. Ah **þ**e ilke sari wrecches **þ**e*
*i**þ**e fule wur**ð**inge. vnwedde walewe**ð**.' beo**ð** **þ**e deof*
*les eaueres. **þ** rit ham & spure**ð** ham to don al **þ** he*
*wule. **þ**eos walewi**ð** iwurdinge & forrotie**ð** **þ**rin.*
(*Hali Meiðhad*, in *The Katherine Group. Edited from Ms. Bodley 34*, ed. S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne, Paris, 1977, p. 137).

The *HC* version:

(5.3) *- Ah nis nawt*
*bi **+t**eos iseid. **+tt** ha forrotie**+d** **+t**rin; **+g**ef ha hare wedlac*
*lahe-liche halde**+d**. Ah **+t**e ilke sari wrecches **+t**e*
*i **+t**e fule wur**+d**inge. vnwedde walewe**+d**, beo**+d** **+t**e deofles*
*eaueres. **+tt** rit ham & spure**+d** ham to don al **+tt** he*
*wule. **+t**eos walewi**+d** i wurdinge & forrotie**+d** **+t**rin.*[37]

In the illustrative examples quoted in the remainder of this dissertation, the original characters are reproduced. Any other necessary information (i.e. corpus or source text) is given in brackets at the end of the example.

Finally, some of the texts from the corpora used for this dissertation present certain inherent difficulties. One of the most complicated cases is given under (5.4) below:

(5.4) *F23 96 While it might be tempting to dismiss these views as F22 97 Body fluids can be analyzed by the local crime lab to help your F23 97 multiculturalist propaganda, the clincher is that Nathan Glazer F22 98 detective. An important factor associated with body fluids, F23 98 himself, after at first denying that the increase of non-European F22 99* ***including*** *blood types, is secretor status. A secretor puts out, F23 99 groups is propelling multiculturalism, turned around and admitted F22 100 i.e., secretes, his AB0 blood types into peripheral body fluids F23 100 it: "I do not see how school systems with a majority of F22 101 such as semen, perspiration, etc. It is possible for your fictional F23 101 black and Latino.* (*FROWN*, F22 97, F23 96)

[37] Spacing in the original text and in the *HC* version do not always coincide, as this example shows. This has to do with the amendments made by the compilers of the *HC*, who had to separate some words typed as one in the source text, or had to join parts of one word which were separated by a space.

This extract makes no sense until one realises that it shows in fact a combination of two different texts, namely F22 and F23. We have to read first all the lines which start with the code F22, and then those which start with F23. By doing so, the correct division is as follows:

(5.5) *F22 97 Body fluids can be analyzed by the local crime lab to help your F22 98 detective. An important factor associated with body fluids, F22 99* ***including*** *blood types, is secretor status. A secretor puts out, F22 100 i.e., secretes, his AB0 blood types into peripheral body fluids F22 101 such as semen, perspiration, etc.*

(5.6) *F23 96 While it might be tempting to dismiss these views as F23 97 multiculturalist propaganda, the clincher is that Nathan Glazer F23 98 himself, after at first denying that the increase of non-European F23 99 groups is propelling multiculturalism, turned around and admitted F23 100 it: "I do not see how school systems with a majority of F23 101 black and Latino.*

5.5. Summary

The present section has provided a description of the materials used in this piece of research. On the one hand, a number of usage manuals and dictionaries, in particular the *OED*, have been used in order to trace back the origin and earliest occurrences of English EMs and to find the shades of meaning which make these markers different at present (see Section 5.1). This material provides the main source of information for Chapter 6, where current and past EMs are explained. On the other hand, several historical and PDE corpora are used for the quantitative analysis of the dissertation. These are described in Section 5.2 above. Two historical corpora, namely the *HC* and *ARCHER*, are the basis of the diachronic analysis carried out in Chapter 7. On the other hand, the material for contemporary English is provided by *LOB*, *FLOB* and *BE06* for

BrE and *BROWN*, *FROWN* and *AE06* for AmE. The data from these corpora are analysed in detail in Chapter 8.

6. ENGLISH EXEMPLIFYING MARKERS

An EM was briefly described in Section 3.1 as the link which connects the two units in an exemplifying construction. In this chapter, English EMs are explained in detail, considering not only current EMs (cf. Section 6.1), but also forms which had this function in earlier stages but are obsolete nowadays (see Section 6.2). The *OED* and the *MED* are the main sources of information, though the data from these historical dictionaries are complemented with the information taken from a wide range of PDE dictionaries (see Section 5.1 above for the whole list of the material consulted). After this analysis, a classification of current EMs based on their semantic-pragmatic and syntactic features is proposed in Section 6.3, followed by some considerations on the position which EMs may occupy in the exemplifying sequence (see Section 6.4). Finally, some recurrent combinations of EMs are considered in Section 6.5. The chapter closes with Section 6.6, which summarises the main points discussed.

6.1. Current EMs

The present section considers the list of EMs available in PDE. This comprises the following forms: *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *such as*, *like*, *say* and *as*. With the help of the *OED* and the *MED*, the origin of PDE EMs is traced, as well as their earliest attestations in the English language.

6.1.1. Including *and* included

Given their common origin and similar exemplifying functions, the EMs *including* and *included* are considered together in this section. The main difference between these two related markers concerns their position in the exemplifying sequence: whereas *including* occurs before the EE (i.e. P1), *included* follows it (i.e. P3). The discussion of such a difference is given in Section 6.4 below.

As regards their origin, the two EMs derive from the full lexical verb *include*. The origin of this verb is the Latin form *includere*, which consists of the prefix *in-* (usually combined with verbs to convey the meaning 'into, in, within; on, upon; towards, against', *OED*, s.v. *in-* prefix[2]) and the verb *claudere* 'to shut' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v.). According to the *OED*, the verb *include* was used for the first time in English in the Middle Ages, around the year 1420, in the following example:

(6.1) *The flouryng tre, the trunke in leed* ***Enclude***. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.a. 1420. *Pallad. on Husb.* iv. 338)[38]

'The flowering tree, the trunk in leed [a type of grass] included'.[39]

The original meaning of *include* in this early example is 'to shut or close in; to enclose within material limits: to shut up, confine' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.a), a meaning that has remained relatively stable across time. This idea of inclusion within physical limits came over time to be applied to other cases where the limits are not material but abstract: 'The limits, object or inclusion being non-material' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.b). According to the *OED*, it was in *Dunbar's Poems* in the year 1550 where this non-

[38] All the examples taken from the *OED* in Chapter 6 were accessed on July 2014.

[39] A word for word translation is provided for those examples whose meaning may be obscure in PDE.

literal meaning of the verb *include* is found for the first time (cf. (6.2)). In the 17th century, *include* acquired a new nuance: 'to enclose (in an area)' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.c.; cf. (6.3)).

(6.2) *The Souerane Senȝour of all celsitude Quhilk all thing creat, and all thing dois* ***include***. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.b. 1568. In J. Small *Poems W. Dunbar* (1893) II. 325)

'The sovereign Lord of all dignity, who created everything and includes everything'.

(6.3) *It was after* ***included*** *in its circuit*. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.c. 1662. E. Stillingfleet *Origines Sacræ* i. ii. §4)

Alongside these values of the verb *include* which indicate some kind of confinement, the verb also developed some uses where it meant 'to contain': either 'to contain as a member of an aggregate, or a constituent part of a whole; to embrace as a sub-division or section; to comprehend' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 2.a; see (6.4) below) or 'to contain as a subordinate element, corollary, or secondary feature; to comprise virtually or by inference; to involve, imply' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 2.b; cf. (6.5)).

(6.4) *The moralite* ***includithe*** *in many sundry wise, No man shuld For no prero gatif his neyghburghe to dispise*. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 2.a. *c*1430. Lydgate *Minor Poems* (1840) 118)

'Morality includes in many different ways, no man should for no prerogative his neighbour despise'.

(6.5) *In the vertue of fayth is vnderstande sure hope & perfyte charite: For whan fayth is perfyte, it* ***encludeth*** *them bothe*. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 2.b. 1526. W. Bonde *Pylgrimage of Perfection* iii. sig. QQ^{v})

'In the virtue of faith is understanding sure hope and perfect charity: For when faith is perfect, it includes them both'.

Finally, another relevant meaning of this verb is illustrated in (6.6), where it means 'to place in a class or category; to embrace in a general survey or description; to reckon in a calculation, mention in an enumeration, etc.' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 3.a).

(6.6) *Men of feeble parts are not to be **included** in this number*. (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 3.a., 1794 R. J. Sulivan *View of Nature* I. 18)

This last meaning of the verb *include* is the ultimate source of the EMs *including* and *included*. In all the exemplifying constructions which contain these markers, the inclusion takes place within a group and not within physical limits. This is the reason why the expansion in meaning from an inclusion within physical limits to an inclusion within abstract limits was necessary in order for *including* and *included* to become EMs.

The first instance in the *OED* where *including* can, potentially, be analysed as an EM dates back to the early 17th century:

(6.7) *The roote of* that ancient Brittaine stocke, **including** England, Scotland, and Wales, *by times continuance reincorporate, and flourishing out againe in one fruitfull tree.* (*OED*, s.v. *reincorporate* adj., 1606 B. Barnes *Foure Bks. Offices* ii. 78)

Nevertheless, closer inspection of this instance suggests that *England, Scotland, and Wales* cannot be accepted as an example of *that ancient Brittaine stocke* because of semantic reasons. Here, *including* is not introducing an EE where several components of the GE are listed. Rather, it introduces the whole list of items which belong to the GE: *England, Scotland, and Wales* represent all the types of *that ancient Brittaine stocke*. In this example, the function of *including* is closer to that of a marker of equivalence than to an EM. An explanation for this unexpected use of the verb *include* is given by Peters (2004: 273): "Too literal interpretation of this verb has it that its object must be an exhaustive list of the parts of the whole –that it is strictly a synonym for *comprise*". In other words, according to a literal interpretation of *include*, this verb may introduce the whole list of items comprised in the GE to which it refers

anaphorically, instead of only part of that element. This is not, however, the meaning of the EM *including*. For this reason, (6.7) above cannot be regarded as the first occurrence of the EM at issue. Therefore, the earliest *bona fide* occurrence of *including* as an EM in the *OED* dates from the year 1726, 120 years later than the example considered above:

(6.8) *The whole System as I may speak, of* Affections (**including** Rationality) *which constitute the Heart, as this Word is used in Scripture and on moral Subjects.* (*OED*, s.v. *heart* n., I.5.a, 1726 Bp. J. Butler *15 Serm.* xii. 236)

In this example, the referent of the EE (namely *rationality*) is included within the referent of the GE (i.e. *Affections*). This means that in this instance there is only partial coreferentiality between the two units, as expected in a prototypical exemplifying construction (cf. Section 3.3.1 above). Here, GE and EE are NPs, which are the most common type of syntactic form involved in exemplification. Finally, *including* appears in its expected position, that is P1.

As far as *included* is concerned, the use of this form as an EM is recorded for the first time only a few years later than the first occurrence of *including*. The earliest example of the EM *included* I have been able to trace in the *OED* dates from 1743 (cf. (6.9) below). Here, the GE is *all the hands we could muster in both watches*, whereas the EE is *officers*. Both elements are NPs, which is the expected form of units in exemplification with this marker (see Section 3.3.3 above). The EE, which is delimited by commas, is short and simple because the EM comes after it, i.e. at the end of the exemplifying sequence (P3). A longer unit could be potentially ambiguous.[40]

[40] Cf. Section 8.4.2 below for further information on the type of EE introduced by *included*.

(6.9) All the Hands *we could muster in both Watches,* Officers **included**, *were but twelve*. (*OED*, s.v. *muster* v.1, 5.a., 1743 J. Bulkeley & J. Cummins *Voy. to South-seas* 16)

The fact that the EMs *including* and *included* derive from the verb *include* determines the type of unit of the EE: it tends to be a simple NP like those in (6.8) and (6.9) above,[41] and the relationship between the marker and the EE is analogous to the relationship between the verb *include* and its DO. Let us take (6.9) above as a case in point. In this instance, *officers* functions as the EE of the marker *included*, while this NP realises the DO function of the verb *included* in (6.9b). In fact, most exemplifying constructions with *including* or *included* as EMs can be transformed into a relative clause with a verb denoting inclusion (see Section 3.3.5 above).

(6.9) b. *All the hands we could muster in both watches, which included officers, were but twelve*.

6.1.2. For example

The EM *for example* is a complex link which consists of the preposition *for* followed by the noun *example*. This noun comes from the Old French form *example*, *exemple*, which is a refashioning after Latin (Lat. *exemplum*) of earlier *assample*, *essample*. These formal differences are more than a simple hesitancy in spelling. In fact, the *OED* contains up to three different entries for such nouns, namely *example*, *asaumple* and *ensample*. According to this dictionary, *asaumple* has died out, but some remnants of archaic *ensample* are still found in texts from the New Testament. The first occurrences of the noun *example* found in the *OED* date back to the mid-13th century. In none of

[41] Other syntactic forms are also possible, though much less commonly (cf. Sections 7.2.1 and 8.4 below).

these early examples is the spelling the modern one (that is, *example*), but rather the archaic *asaumple* (cf. (6.10)) or *ensample* (cf. (6.11)).

(6.10) *Þenc of þis **asaumple***. (*OED*, s.v. *asaumple* n., a1250 (1200) *Ancrene Riwle* (Nero) (1952) 128)

'Think of this example'.

(6.11) *Þer-of us yeft **ensample** þo þrie kinges of heþenesse*. (*OED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 2b; c1250 Old Kent. Serm. in *Old Eng. Misc.* 27)

'Thereof us gave example those three kings of heathenesse'.

As far as the meaning of the noun *example* is concerned, its basic use in PDE is that of 'instance':

> *OED* s.v. *example* n., 1: A typical instance; a fact, incident, quotation, etc. that illustrates, or forms a particular case of, a general principle, rule, state of things, etc.; a person or thing that may be taken as an illustration of a certain quality. Phrases, *for example*, *by way of example*; formerly also (ellipt.) *example* in same sense.

An illustration is given in (6.12).

(6.12) *And to thys manyfold of nature **Exaimplys**, acordyth weel scrypture*. (*OED*, s.v. *example* n., 1. 1447. O. Bokenham *Lyvys Seyntys* (1835) Introd. 3)

'And with these manifold examples of nature, scripture agrees well'.

Another common meaning of *example* is that of 'model', either a bad role model (*OED*, s.v. *example* n., 3), as in (6.13), or a good role model (*OED*, s.v. *example* n., 6.a), as shown in (6.14):

> *OED* s.v. *example* n., 3: A signal instance of punishment intended to have a deterrent effect; a warning, caution; a person whose fate serves as a deterrent to others. Chiefly in phrases, ✝*for*, ✝*in example*, *to make* (*a person*, etc.) *an example*, *an example of* (*a person*); also, *to take example*.

(6.13) *Sodom and Gomor ben maad **ensaumple** [v.r. exsaumple], sustenynge peyne of euerlastinge fijr*. (*OED*, s.v. *example* n., 3. 1382. *Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.)* Jude i. 7)

'Sodom and Gomorrah are made example, sustaining pain of everlasting fire'.

> OED s.v. *example* n., 6.a: A person's action or conduct regarded as an object of imitation; often qualified by adjs. *good*, *bad*, *evil*, etc. Phrases, *to give*, *leave*, *set an example*. Also, a person whose conduct ought to be imitated; a 'pattern' of excellence.

(6.14) *Be thou **ensaumple** [v.r. exsaumple] of feithful men in word in feith, in chastite*. (*OED*, s.v. *example* n., 6.a. 1382. *Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.)* 1 Tim. iv. 12)

'By your example of faithful men in word in faith, in chastity'.

These meanings of *example* as 'model' are closely connected with what is denominated *exemplum*. The *exemplum* was a short moralising story inserted within sermons which became popular in the Middle Ages in order to transmit the message of Christianity. Those short narratives were proposed as models of conduct on behalf of the church to the people.[42] Even though *exemplum* and *example* are not the same, the history of the *exemplum* may have exerted some influence on the type of EE which *for example* takes. As a matter of fact, this marker usually takes long and complex elements which resemble short stories, in contrast to, for instance, *including* and *included*, which favour short nominal EEs (see Sections 7.2.1 and 8.4 below).

The first occurrence of the EM *for example* found in the *OED* dates back to 1340-1370:

(6.15) **For ensample**, bi my sawe Soþ mow ȝe fonge Of iubiter. (*OED*, s.v. *fang* v.1, 1d; 1340-1370 *Alex. & Dind.* 552)

[42] Crane (1927); Le Goff (1985); Lyons (1989); Sánchez-Tarrío (2000) and Prat-Ferrer (2007), among others, deal with the origin and history of the *exemplum*.

'For example, by my story you can learn the truth about Jupiter'.

In this early instance, *for example* introduces a sentence. It occurs in its typical position, namely sentence-initially, and is surrounded by pauses.

6.1.3. For instance

From both a formal and a semantic point of biew, the EM *for instance* is very similar to *for example*. It is a PP consisting of the preposition *for* plus the noun *instance*, which was borrowed from Latin through French (Fr. *instance* < Lat. *instāntia*) in the Middle Ages. The *OED* proposes four different types of meanings for the noun *instance*:

> *OED*, s.v. *instance* n., I: Urgency; pressure; urging influence.

(6.16) *At þe prayere and **instaunce** of oþer*. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., 1.I.a. c1340. R. Rolle *Prose Treat.* 26)

'At the prayer and instance of other'.

> *OED*, s.v. *instance* n., II: Instant time.

(6.17) *Those continued **instances** of time which flow into thousand yeares.* (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., II.4. 1643 Sir T. Browne *Relig. Medici* i. §11)

> *OED*, s.v. *instance* n., III.6.a: A fact or example brought forward in support of a general assertion or an argument, or in illustration of a general truth. Hence, any thing, person, or circumstance, illustrating or exemplifying something of a more general character; a case, an illustrative example. Also, in broader sense, a case occurring, a recurring occasion. ✝*to give* or *make instance.*

(6.18) *I will but give you an **instance** of the same*. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., III.6.a. 1592. A. Day *Eng. Secretorie* ii. sig. F4)

> *OED*, s.v. *instance* n., IV.8.a: A process in a court of justice, a suit. *Court of first instance*, court of primary jurisdiction. [Compare French *tribunal de première instance*.]

(6.19) *To seek for a remedy of these abuses at Rome, was such an insupportable charge, by reason of three* ***instances*** *and three sentences necessary to be obtained*. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., IV.8.a. 1661. 1654. J. Bramhall *Just Vindic. Church of Eng.* vii. 206)

The EM *for instance* clearly derives from the third of these definitions. Evidence from the *OED* shows that this meaning of *instance* as an example of a general statement coexisted in the EModE period with another meaning which was exactly its opposite: 'A case adduced in objection to or disproof of a universal assertion (= medieval Latin *instantia*, Greek *ἔνστασις*) Obs.' (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., III.5). In other words, *instance* was not only used with the meaning 'example' but also with that of 'counterexample' of a general statement, as illustrated in (6.20) and (6.21), which are the first and last examples of this meaning attested in the *OED*.

(6.20) *A marvelous* ***instance*** *Against all dalliance.* (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., III.5, 1573 G. Harvey Schollers Loove in Let.-bk. (1884) 115)

(6.21) ***Instance***, […] *a new Objection in School disputes to destroy the Solution which the Respondent has made to the first Argument.* (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., III.5, 1696 E. Phillips New World of Words (ed. 5))

The positive meaning of the word, (i.e. its use as a real example) was first attested around 1400. This is given under (6.22).

(6.22) *My* ***instaunce*** *cotydyan [c1384 Douce 369(2) myn eche dayes wakynge; L. instancia mea cotidiana] þe whiche is þe bysynesse of alle þe Kyrkys.* (*OED*, s.v. *quotidian* adj. and n., A.2, a1400 Northern Pauline Epist. 2 Cor. xi. 28)

'My daily instance which is the example of all the churches'.

In the light of these two opposing meanings, examples like (6.23) below from the *HC* become relevant. Here, the use of the nouns *examples* and *instances* in coordination would be unusual in PDE since they are synonyms and, therefore, one of them is

redundant, and languages tend to avoid the use of unnecessary extra words.[43] However, the word *instances* is probably used here in opposition to *examples*, that is with the meaning 'counterevidence, objections'.

(6.23) *Now I will set downe* ***Examples*** *and* ***Instances*** *for the Cure of the said Malady*. (*HC*, 1602.cescie2a)

In turn, the earliest occurrence of the EM *for instance* recorded in the *OED* is rather late, especially if compared with *for example*. This is (6.24), dating from 1657:

(6.24) The proof of this I found, by looking on the Stars […] **For instance**; There is a little Star, called Auriga [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., 6.b, 1657 R. *Ligon True Hist. Barbados 19*)

Although there is not much context in this example, *for instance* seems to occur here in P1 linking two sentences. Nevertheless, there is one example in the *OED* from 1645 which might actually correspond to an earlier occurrence where the marker shows a non-grammaticalised status. Consider (6.25) below:

(6.25) This is the man who would have his device alwayes in his sermons, which in Oxford they then called conundrums. **For an instance** Now all House is turned into an Alehouse, and a pair of dice is made a Paradice, was it thus in the days of Noah? Ah no! (*OED*, s.v. *conundrum* n., 1645, *Kingdom's Weekly Post* 16 Dec. 76)

The indefinite article occurs here between the preposition *for* and the noun *instance*, but the combination *for an instance* seems to have an exemplifying function. Therefore, this can be analysed as the earliest occurrence of the EM *for instance* in spite of the strong nominal features of *example*, something only possible in the earliest stages of the process of grammaticalisation of this marker.

[43] Cf. Section 3.3.4 for more information on the principle of economy of the languages.

6.1.4. Exempli gratia *or* e.g.

The expression *exempli gratia* was borrowed from Latin in the EModE period with the meaning 'for instance' (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia* ph.). *Exempli*, the genitive form, means 'of example', and *gratia*, in the ablative case, means 'for the sake'. The earliest attestation of this marker in the *OED* is dated 1654 (see (6.26); *OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia* ph.). An abbreviated form of *exempli gratia*, namely *e.g.*, is more frequent than its extended form, as shown in (6.27) below (cf. *OED*, s.v. *E.* n.1, initialisms). A consensus as regards how to use punctuation in this abbreviated form does not exist. Thus, *eg* or *eg.* can also be found (cf. Peters 2004: 175). Occasionally, *ex.gr.* can also be used (see (6.28)).

(6.26) *The intrinsecall radicall moysture must be supplied, recruited, and replenished* with the extrinsecall liquids, *that is*, **exempli gratia**, *in the morning* with a sphericall Tost in a pot of Ale of good capacity. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli* gratia phr., 1654. E. Gayton *Pleasant Notes Don Quixot* ii. vi. 102)

(6.27) *What if they hold,* ***e.g.** Arrianism, Socinianism, Manichisme, &c.: *Are they not Heretical?* (*OED*, s.v. *E.* n1, INITIALISMS *e.g.*, adv. 1682. R. Baxter *Answer to Mr. Dodwell* 226)

(6.28) *The concept and the word are freely scattered through Wheatstone's Bakerian lecture of 1843, where we find,* **ex gr.**, 'in two circuits when the same resistance is introduced, the strength of the two currents may be weakened'. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia* phr., 1933 *Nature* 7 Oct. 533/1)

The *OED* proposes the expression *exempli causa* as a variant of *exempli gratia*. Examples with this marker are older than instances with *exempli gratia*, as evidenced by (6.29) below, which is dated 1569. The last occurrence of this phrase in the *OED* is (6.30), an example from 1802. Even though this expression is not marked as obsolete in the *OED* and some examples of it are indeed found in the Internet, its use is scarce.

(6.29) **Exempli causa**, I urge the Injunction upon all ministers. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia* phr., 1569 Abp. M. Parker *Let.* 1 July in *Corr.* (1853) (modernized text) 352)

(6.30) In English now, **exem. causâ**, we might say, [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia* phr., 1802 S. T. Coleridge Lett. (1884) 85)

The EM *e.g.* is not very common in English. Actually, in Meyer's (1992: 26) contemporary English data it is used just once. An explanation for the scarce use of *e.g.* can be found in manuals such as *The Chicago Manual of Style* (1982 [1906]), where it is stated that abbreviations like *e.g.* should be "preferably confined to parenthetical references", that is, "[t]o the greatest extent possible, [...] [they] should be kept out of running text, except in technical matter" (*The Chicago Manual of Style* 1982 [1906]: 383). In other words, the use of *e.g.* is not advisable in most text-types, and even in formal and scholarly texts it tends to be restricted to parenthetical references.

The form *e.g.* should not be confused with *i.e.* In Section 2.2.2.1 above, *i.e.* was presented as a marker of central apposition, of reformulation to be precise, a synonym of *that is* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *I* n.1, INITIALISMS). It is used to introduce an explanation or a paraphrase of a previous statement which the author feels is not clear enough. This use is illustrated in (6.31) below. Nevertheless, the function of *i.e.* in some recent examples is closer to that of an EM than to a marker of reformulation. (6.32) is one of such cases, where *i.e.* is probably mistaken for *e.g.* Notice that in this example *massage* is one of the practical skills included in the GE, not an equivalent to it.

(6.31) *There are at least* two alternative taxonomical approaches, **i.e.** Anglo-Saxon, based mostly on cytogenetical studies […], and central-European, which is population-based. (*OED*, s.v. *cytogenetical* adj., 2001 *Jrnl. Biogeogr.* 28 599)

(6.32) *The study reported here was part of a wider research and development project to determine the value of providing parents of children with*

disabilities with a practical skill (**i.e.** massage) *that they could use on their children at home*. (*BE06*, J74)

6.1.5. Such as

The complex EM *such as* consists of two elements which have been part of the English language since OE times, and which are functionally overloaded. *Such* can be used as an adjective or a pronoun, and *as*, in turn, as an adverb or a conjunction (for further information on *as*, see Section 6.1.8 below). The main use of *such*, which has its origin in OE *swelc*, *swilc*, *swylc*, is that of 'a demonstrative word used to indicate the quality or quantity of a thing by reference to that of another or with respect to the effect that it produces or is capable of producing. Thus, syntactically, *such* may have backward or forward reference' (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron.).[44] (6.33) illustrates one of the uses of *such* indicating 'of the character, degree, or extent described, referred to, or implied in what has been said' (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., I.1).

(6.33) *She never sings* ***such*** *music*. (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., I.1.a.(b); 1844 E. B. Browning *Lost Bower* xxxix)

The first instance in the *OED* where *such as* functions as an EM dates back to the 17th century (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron. II.9.d).

(6.34) If their Characters *were wholly perfect*, (**such as for Example**, the Character of a Saint or Martyr in a Play). (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., II.9.d 1695. Dryden in tr. C. A. Du Fresnoy *De Arte Graphica* Pref. p. xvi)

[44] The information given in the *OED* for *such* is lengthy and comprehensive. However, given that *such as* is not a central EM in this dissertation, I will not mention here those meanings which are not relevant to the discussion of the exemplifying function of this marker.

Interestingly, this example shows one recurrent feature of EMs in their early occurrences, namely the fact that *such as* combines with another EM, in particular *for example*. In this instance, the predicate intervenes between the GE and the EE.[45]

6.1.6. Like

The form *like* "is arguably the most versatile four-letter word in the English language" (Peters 2004: 323). According to the *OED*, it may function as a verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition and conjunction (cf. *OED*, s.v. *like* n.[1]; *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.[2]; *like* v.[1]; *like* v.[2]). Moreover, at present *like* is also acquiring a number of additional uses, as a quotative marker and a pragmatic marker.[46] When *like* is an EM, it introduces 'a particular example of a class respecting which something is predicated' (*OED*, s.v. *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.[2], A.1.d), as in (6.35) below. Even though this item is a native form which existed in English from early times (early ME *līch*, *līk* (? late OE **líc*)), the first unambiguous example I have been able to trace in the *OED* where it has an exemplifying function dates from the 19th century. In this instance, *like* links two short NPs and introduces an integrated EE.

(6.35) A critic **like** you *is one who fights the good fight, contending with stupidity*. (*OED*, s.v. *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.[2], A.1.d 1886. R. L. Stevenson *Lett.* (1899) II. 41)

[45] For further combinations of EMs, see Section 6.5 below.

[46] For more information on the different uses of *like* in PDE, see Meehan (1991); Romaine and Lange (1991); Dailey-O'Cain (2000); Iyeiri, Yaguchi and Okabe (2005); D'Arcy (2006), (2007) and López-Couso and Méndez-Naya (2012b), (2014), among others.

The use of *like* as an EM is not devoid of controversy.[47] During the 20th century, it acquired a stigmatised character which, for some, is still patent in PDE. Consider in this connection the following comments from the blog *Grammarphobia*:

> Respected writers have been using the preposition "like" in the sense of "such as" since at least the early 1800s. And as far as we can tell, no language authority objected to this usage until the second half of the 20th century.
>
> Since then, a handful of commentators have criticized the usage for one reason or another. But other usage authorities have either ignored the issue or pooh-poohed the objections. (<http://www.grammarphobia.com/blog/2012/02/like-such-as.html>)[48]

The stigmatisation of *like* becomes noticeable in the different editions of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. In its first edition (published in 1926), Fowler gives 'such as' as one of the meanings which *like* may have. This meaning is exemplified in *a critic like you*, which is the first occurrence of the EM *like* attested in the *OED* (cf. (6.35) above). Apparently, for Fowler there was nothing wrong in the 1920s about this exemplifying use of *like*. However, as O'Conner and Kellerman notice in their blog *Grammarphobia*, this attitude changed in subsequent editions of the dictionary: "It's not until the third edition, edited by Robert Burchfield in 1996 and 1998, that an eyebrow is raised about the usage. Burchfield says the use of 'like' for 'such as' is sometimes questioned because of possible ambiguity" (<http://www.grammarphobia.com/blog/2012/02/like-such-as.html>). Probably, Burchfield was influenced by a number of reactions which took place during the second

[47] Controversy also accompanies the use of *like* as a conjunction, as pointed out by a number of studies (see, for example, Gladwell 2000: 25 and Peters 2004: 323).

[48] Cf. also: "Writers since Chaucer's time have used *like* as a conjunction, but 19th-century and 20th-century critics have been so vehement in their condemnations of this usage that a writer who uses the construction in formal style risks being accused of illiteracy or worse" (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/like>).

half of the 20th century against the use of exemplifying *like*. A staunch opponent to this exemplifying use is Kilpatrick (1984):

> Consider two parallel sentences: (1) Writers like Follett and Bernstein dismiss the matter out of hand. (2) Such writers as Follett and Bernstein dismiss the matter out of hand. To contend that the two sentences reflect only 'an extremely slight distinction' [Follett 1966: 314-15] is to exhibit an inability to read plain English. In the first sentence, we are not told that Follett and Bernstein dismiss; we are told only that other, unidentified writers who in some fashion are like Follett and Bernstein dismiss the matter out of hand. (Kilpatrick 1984: 197)

Another case of opposition towards the exemplifying use of *like* is found in Freeman (1990). According to this author (1990: 252), if we use *like* in the sentence *I know many 'beauties' like Elizabeth Taylor*, Elizabeth Taylor "would not [be included in the group], since *like* means similarly or similar to. This means the 'beauties' are similar to her, but she is not among them". And he adds: "To include Ms. Taylor, say, 'I know many 'beauties' *such as* Elizabeth Taylor'".

6.1.7. Say

The verb *say* (OE *sęcgan*) is one of the oldest words recorded in the English language. According to the *OED*, its root is probably West Indogermanic **soq^{u}-*: **seq^{u}*. As far as its meaning is concerned, '[i]n English, as in other Teutonic langs., *say* is an approximate synonym of *speak*, from which it differs in having normally as its object a particular word or series of words, or a sentence representing the meaning of a particular series of words' (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1]; see example (6.36) below). Nonetheless, *say* may also be used to introduce examples: 'immediately following a word or phrase to show that it represents a supposition, an instance, an approximation, or the like' (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 10.d), as in (6.37).

(6.36) *Gibbon **says** that the French monarchy was created by the bishops of France*. (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 2.a. 1829. K. H. Digby *Broad Stone of Honour: Godefridus* xxi. 272)

(6.37) *If he were*, **say**, an Indian or Japanese coolie, *who can live on rice and onions, he wouldn't get fifteen shillings a week-he would be lucky if he got fifteen shillings a month.* (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 10.d. 1937. 'G. Orwell' *Road to Wigan Pier* vi. 100)

What distinguishes this EM from the others discussed in this section is the nuance of uncertainty which it conveys. The hypothetical character of this marker will be considered in detail in Section 6.3.2 below.

In addition to its exemplifying function, *say* can also occur in certain expressions to introduce other types of appositional constructions. In Section 2.2.2.1 above *that is to say* was presented as a marker of equivalence, as in (2.4), repeated here as (6.38) for convenience. Moreover, according to the *OED*, in the EModE period the formula *to say* could be used with the meaning 'namely, to wit', as (6.39) and (6.40) show.

(6.38) = (2.4) The company commander, **that is to say** Captain Madison, *assembled his men and announced their mission*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1309)

(6.39) *Sainct Paule callith Christ the minister and seruant* of the saynctes **to say** of souche as be here lyuing in this troblyd and persecutyd churche. (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 4.c. 1547, J. Hooper *Declar. Christe* v. D iij)

'Saint Paul called Christ the minister and servant of the saints, to say/namely of such as are here living in this troubled and persecuted church'.

(6.40) Hym *that had the imperie and dominion of deathe* **to say** the deuill. (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 4.c. 1547. J. Hooper *Declar. Christe* vi. E viij)

All these examples remind us of how fuzzy the boundaries between appositional types are: similar EMs may introduce different types of appositives, and one and the same EM may be used in different appositional types at different points in time in the history of the language.

6.1.8. As

Even though neither Quirk *et al.* (1985) nor Meyer (1992) mention *as* in their list of PDE EMs, the *OED* assigns an exemplifying function to this form: 'Introducing instances exemplifying or illustrating a general designation: like and including, such as, of the kind of; for instance, for example' (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B.II.19). The first occurrence of the exemplifying use of *as* attested in the *OED* dates back to the early 13th century:

(6.41) Þes patriarches, **alse** abel and noe and abraham. (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., 19; a1225 (?OE) *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 81 (*MED*))

'These patriarchs, as Abel and Noah and Abraham'.

In this example, the units in exemplification are short NPs: the GE is *Þes patriarches* and the EE *abel and noe and abraham*. However, the *OED* makes clear that the EM *as* is an elliptical variant of *such as*. The reasons which may condition the choice of *such as* over *as* are the following. On the one hand, *such as* is phonetically heavier than *as*, which is extremely short. On the other, *as* is a high-frequency word[49] which can be used as a noun, an adverb and a conjunction (cf. *OED*, *as* n.[1], n.[2], adv. and conj.). Taking into account the formal and semantic properties of these two items, *such as* may be preferred to *as* because it is more straightforwardly and unambiguously recognised as an EM.

The form *as* is one of the oldest words of the English language. Its origin lies in the OE form *eall-swá* (*all-so*; originally the same form as *also*). This form can be used with a wide variety of meanings, which are classified in the *OED* into two main groups

[49] Cf. Fry, Kress and Fountoukidis (2006) [1984] and Paquot (2007), who classify this form as the 16th most frequent word in English for Academic Purposes.

depending on whether it occurs in a main clause (adverb) or in a subordinate clause (conjunction):

> *OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., A. adv.: In a main sentence, as antecedent or demonstrative adverb, introducing an explicit or implied subordinate clause, esp. one expressing a comparison of equivalence.

(6.42) *Seo beorhtnys is **ealswá** eald swá þæt fýr*. (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., A.I.1. Old English. Ælfric *Catholic Homilies: 1st Ser.* (Royal) xx. 337)

'Brightness is as old as fire'.

> *OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B. conj.: In a subordinate clause which expresses the manner [cf. example (6.43) below], degree, time, place, reason, purpose, or result, of the main clause, and in other relative subordinating, or restrictive functions.

(6.43) *And in al thinges be als free **As** hert may thynke or eygh may se.* (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B.I.1.a. a1300. *Rhyming Charter* (Sawyer 457) in W. de G. Birch *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1887) II. 326)

'And in all things be as free as heart may think or eye may see'.

The *OED* classifies those constructions where *as* is an EM as examples of the conjunction *as*. The most recent example of the exemplifying *as* given in the *OED* is the following:

(6.44) *"Yes. And what do you feel now?"* "The good things". "**As**?" "Joy. Relief". (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., 1955 J. P. Donleavy *Ginger Man* (1972) ix. 92)

Evidence from the corpora and the *OED* suggests that the EM *as* had a crucial role in the development of other EMs. Examples of this kind will be discussed in detail in Section 6.5.

6.1.9. Non-productive formulas with example

Before closing the review of current EMs, there are some formulas with the noun *example* which have an exemplifying function and therefore need to be brought to the fore. These expressions, although not very common in PDE, are occasionally found. Let us start with *par exemple*:

(6.45) **Par exemple**; if I want to make *une declaration d'amour*, why of course I should wish to produce a *chef d'oeuvre* of eloquence. (*OED*, s.v. *par exemple* adv., 1801. B. Thompson tr. A. von Kotzebue *Lovers' Vows* iv. 64)

The phrase *par exemple* is attested in the *OED* from 1801 onwards, whereas its original French source was found for the first time in English around 1636 (cf. *OED*, s.v. *par exemple* adv.). At present, this expression is occasionally used as an EM, but it is not fully naturalised. Note that example (6.45), as most examples where this marker is used in the *OED*, contains other French words, thus indicating the strong connection between this expression and French. The socio-historical context of the time may help us explain the borrowing of this phrase when other similar devices were already available in the language. The borrowing of French or Latin words (among them, some of the current English EMs) in ME times was commonplace. After the Norman Conquest, English was greatly influenced by the Norman variety of French, something "inevitable" when "two languages exist side by side for a long time and the relations between the people speaking them are as intimate as they were in England" (Baugh and Cable 1993 [1951]: 163). However, such intimate contact no longer existed in the Modern English period, but French still had an impact on English (especially on its lexis) at this stage, though to a lesser extent. The reasons for this influence are now different. Many intellectuals pointed at the "insufficiency" of English, which was considered as "'rude' and

'barbarous', inexpressive and ineloquent, and it did not have the technical vocabulary required in specialised domains of language use" (Nevalainen 1999: 358). Therefore, writers like Sir Thomas Elyot introduced many French terms to enrich their vocabulary given that "French still had high prestige as a literary language" (Barber 1976: 42). In an attempt to sound more intellectual and erudite, expressions like *par exemple* were borrowed from French.

In turn, constructions where *example* combines with *sake* are quite rare in PDE (although still possible), but they were not at all infrequent during the Modern English period. These combinations are: *for the sake of example* (see (6.46)), *for example sake* (cf. (6.47)) and *for example-sake* (cf. (6.48)). On occasion, linguistic material can intervene between the preposition *for* and the noun *example*, as in (6.49), showing the intervening adjective *familiar*.

(6.46) *This reviewal of Cowper's first volume is one of those defunct criticisms which deserve to be disinterred and gibbeted* ***for the sake of example****.* (*OED*, s.v. *gibbet* v., 3; 1836 Southey in *Cowper's Wks.* II. 26)

(6.47) *Nowe sir, I will (****for example sake****) make my selfe an aduerse against you.* (*OED*, s.v. *adverse* adj. and n., B; 1593 B. Rich *Greenes Newes* sig. F^{v})

(6.48) *For sex-sake,* ***for example-sake****, Lucy, let it not be known*. (*OED*, s.v. *sake* n.1, 2II.7.a. β; 1754 S. Richardson *Hist. Sir Charles Grandison* (1810) IV. xiv. 111)

(6.49) ***For familiar example sake****, I referre you to the beholdyng of the Articulation of Talus, with the botelike bone*. (*OED*, s.v. *refer* v., I3b; 1578 J. Banister *Hist. Man* i. f. 3^{v})

This variation in the structure of the construction is explained in the *OED*:

> In the latter of these forms [for (one's, a thing's) sake], the word which precedes *sake* is a possessive (noun or pronoun); but down to the middle of the 19th c. the *'s* of the possessive of common or abstract nouns was very commonly omitted (doubtless owing to the difficulty of pronouncing the two sibilants in succession), and from the 17th to the

> early 19th c. the two nouns were often connected by a hyphen, as if forming an attributive compound. (*OED*, s.v. *sake* n.1, II)

The meaning of these constructions with *sake* is not exactly the same as that of the EM *for example*, although they are very similar. However, these constructions seem to have a stronger semantic content, being closer to a verb complement with the meaning 'as an example, by way of example' than to our EM.

6.2. Obsolete EMs

In addition to the EMs discussed in the preceding section, the *OED* and the *MED* provide information about some expressions which were used as EMs in the past, but which do not exist any longer in such function in the present day. These expressions are *to bisne, as namely, for the purpose, suppose* and several phrases containing the noun *example*. These formulas are considered individually in what follows.

6.2.1. To bisne

Even though the *OED* does not make an explicit reference to the use of the expression *to bisne* as an EM, some examples provided by the *OED* make clear that this expression could be used with an exemplifying value in earlier English. In OE and ME the noun *bysen* meant 'example' (*OED, bysen* n.I.1), and although it has died out in most varieties of English, according to the *OED* it is still found in Scottish and Northern dialects. Consider (6.50) and (6.51) below.

(6.50) Paronomasia, id est denominatio on Lyden. Þis hiw byð gesett on myslicum andgite, swylce ic þis do **to bisne**: *amans* and *amens*. (*OED,* s.v. *paronomasia* n., OE Byrhtferð *Enchiridion* (Ashm.) (1995) iii. iii. 166)

'Paranomasia, i.e. denomination in Latin. This form is made with unlike meaning, as I this do to exemplify: *amans* and *amens*'.

(6.51) Eac þęs atomos byð on þam getele [*i.e.* arithmetic], swylce ic cweðe þam preoste þas þing **to bysne**: […] Todæl þa twa; þonne byð an to lafe; þæt ys untodallic. (*OED*, s.v. *atom* n., II.2, OE Byrhtferð *Enchiridion* (Ashm.) (1995) ii. iii. 110)

'Also this *atom* is arithmetic, as I say this thing to the priest to exemplify: divide the two; then what is a remaining, that is indivisible'.

In these examples, *to bisne/bysne* is followed by colons and then by an example which illustrates a previous explanation, similarly to those exemplifying constructions which have *for example* or *for instance* as EMs. The structure and semantics of these instances suggest, therefore, that *to bisne* was probably one of the first EMs recorded in English.

6.2.2. As namely

The adverb *namely* consists of the noun *name*, a native word which means 'a proper noun; a word or phrase constituting the individual designation by which a particular person or thing is known, referred to, or addressed' (*OED*, s.v. *name* n. and adj., A.I.1.a) plus the suffix *-ly*, a suffix used to form adverbs from adjectives and whose origin lies in the OE form *-líce*. The main function of *namely* in PDE is that of an AM of equivalence meaning 'that is to say, to be specific; to wit' (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.a). However, this use of *namely* as a central marker of apposition (cf. Section 2.2.2.1 above) was not its original use in English. As a matter of fact, it was first used as a marker in another subtype of apposition, namely particularisation, with the meaning 'particularly, especially, above all' (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1.a), as in example (6.52) below (see López-Couso 2011, forthcoming and Miura 2013, among others).

(6.52) *Sunnedei ah efri cristenne Mon* ***nomeliche*** *to chirche cume.* (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1a. *a*1225. (OE). *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 139)

'On Sunday every Christian man should especially come to church'.

However, *namely* also had another appositional use in the past. When combined with the adverb *as*, it was used as a synonym of *for example* (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.b), i.e. it was an EM. According to the *OED*, this exemplifying use was attested from 1565 until 1818. The last example given in the *OED* of *as namely* dates from the early 19th century (cf. (6.53) below). Here, *as namely* links two NPs and comes in P1.

(6.53) *What part or portion can I claim In all the decencies of virtuous sorrow,* Which other mourners *use?* **as namely**, This black attire, abstraction from society, Good thoughts, and frequent sighs, [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.b. 1818. C. Lamb *John Woodvil* v, in *Wks.* I. 153)

6.2.3. For the purpose

The etymology of the noun *purpose* is found in the Anglo-Norman form *purpois, purpus, purpose*. Its main meaning is 'that which a person sets out to do or attain; an object in view; a determined intention or aim' (*OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., 1.a), as exemplified in (6.54) below. The idiomatic expression *for the purpose* has become obsolete as an EM in PDE, but it existed in previous stages of the language (cf. *OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., Phrases 2), with the meaning 'for example, for instance'. The *OED* gives two examples of *for the purpose* dating from 1680 and 1689 respectively, where its function is clearly that of an EM (see (6.55) and (6.56) below).

(6.54) *That he his* ***pourpos*** *myhte atteigne* [attain]. (*OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., 1.a. 1300 *St. Mark* (Laud) 8 in C. Horstmann *Early S.-Eng. Legendary* (1887) 362)

(6.55) Those *that* […] *have entitled themselves to the veneration of posterity; or* Catherina Senensis (**for the Purpose**) *that was Sainted by Pius 2.* (*OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., Phrases 2. 1680 R. L'ESTRANGE tr. Erasmus *20 Sel. Colloquies* ix. 159)

(6.56) There is no Prince in Christendom but is directly a Tradesman. **For the purpose**, I have a Man, I bid [challenge] him. (*OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., Phrases 2. 1689. R. Milward *Selden's Table-talk* 55)

In (6.55) *for the purpose* is intonationally delimited by pauses, which are represented by brackets. It links two nominal elements and comes in P3. In (6.56), in turn, the GE and the EE are sentences, and the marker, which comes in P1, opens a sentence.

6.2.4. Suppose

The verb *suppose* is a loanword taken from French in the Middle Ages, its basic meaning being 'to hold as a belief or opinion; to believe as a fact; to think, be of opinion' (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., 1.a; cf. (6.57)). The *OED* refers for the first time to the exemplifying function of *suppose* in 1577 (cf. (6.58) below, where *suppose* links two NPs and comes in P1), in cases where *suppose* is used in the imperative, parenthetically or elliptically (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., 7.d). The last example of *suppose* as an EM provided in the *OED* dates from 1831.

(6.57) *Let vs* ***suppose*** *that in no sorte we did consent with those oppressions, but that we opponed our selues vnto them to the vttermoste of our powers*. (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., I.1.a. 1566 J. Knox *Serm. 19 Aug. 1565* sig. H.j^{v})

(6.58) *Moses was borne of* those fathers, *whome God had appointed to be witnesses of his will*, **suppose** Amram, Kahad, Jacob, Sem, Methusalem, and Adam. (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., 7.d. 1577. H. I. tr. H. Bullinger *50 Godlie Serm.* I. i. i. sig. A.iv^{v}/1)

6.2.5. Formulas with the noun example

Besides the complex EM *for example* described in Section 6.1.2 above, the noun *example* (in its different spellings) occurs in a wide variety of expressions which function as EMs at different points in the history of English. The *OED* and the *MED* list

the following combinations: *example of grace*,[50] *verbi gratia example* (*MED*, s.v. *example* 1.b), *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why* (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n.1.c), none of which is available in PDE. Examples (6.59) to (6.63) below illustrate the use of these EMs.

(6.59) **Ensample**: ȝif a planete in þe biginnynge haþ aspecte [etc.] (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. (a1398) *Trev. *Barth.* (Add 27944) 109b/a)

'For example: at the beginning if a planet has the aspect [etc.]'.

(6.60) Whan the progressioun naturelle endithe in even nombre, by the half therof multiplie þe next totalle ouerere nombre; **Example of grace**: 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiplie 5 by 2. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. c1450 *Art Number*. (Ashm 396) 45/35)

'When the natural progression ends in an even number, multiply thereof the next total higher number by the half. For example: 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiply 5 by 2'.

(6.61) **Verbi gratia Example**: we wille drawe out þe water of ydropic men. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. ?a1425 **Chauliac(1)* (NY 12) 1b/b)

'For example: we will draw out the water of hydropic men'.

(6.62) **Ensaumple as thus** I wolde knowe the degre of the sunne. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. c1400 * Chaucer *Astr*. (Brussels 4869) 2.1.84a)

'For example, I would know the degree of the sun'.

(6.63) **Ensample why**, se now thise wise clerkes, That erren aldermost ayeyn a lawe. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 1.1002)

'For example, see now these wise clerks, that plough everything again downwards'.

Evidence from the *MED* and the *OED* indicates that all these formulas were used in the Middle Ages. As a matter of fact, all the examples containing these formulas provided in the *MED* are dated between 1398 and 1450. In the light of these data we can assert that *example* (in its different spellings) was used in a variety of expressions which

[50] *Example of grace* is probably the same expression as *exempli gratia* (*e.g.*) seen in Section 6.1.4 above. However, these two forms are discussed separately in this dissertation since no explicit relation is established between them in the *OED*.

coexisted with *for example* during the Middle Ages before *for example* fully grammaticalised and became the dominant variant.

6.3. Classification of PDE EMs

In this section I propose a classification of EMs on the basis of three main traits: the degree of emphasis which the EM conveys on the example which it introduces, the integrated or non-integrated character of the EE and the degree of formality of the marker. The categories proposed are neutral (cf. Section 6.3.1), hypothetical (cf. Section 6.3.2), comparative (cf. Section 6.3.3) and focalising (cf. Section 6.3.4) EMs.

6.3.1. Neutral EMs

The group of neutral markers is made up of forms which introduce the EE without putting any emphasis on the example chosen. These neutral EMs are *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.*

The difference between *for example* and *for instance* is very subtle. Indeed, dictionaries rarely make any distinction between these two forms: *for example* is usually defined as 'for instance' and *for instance* as 'for example'. This is the case in the dictionaries consulted for this study,[51] which confirm that people probably use these two formulas as stylistic alternatives to avoid repetition, without intending any difference in

[51] A list of these dictionaries is provided in Section 5.1 above.

meaning. In *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009 [1978]: 890), *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.*[52] are considered to be interchangeable, as shown below:

(6.64) = (2.15) a. *They visited* several cities, **for example** Rome and Athens.

b. *They visited* several cities, **for instance** Rome and Athens.

c. *They visited* several cities, **e.g.** Rome and Athens.

However, although semantic differences between *for example* and *for instance* are very subtle, certain distinctions become evident in usage. Data from Biber *et al.* (1999: 887) show that *for example* is used up to five times more often than *for instance*. This may be so simply because the noun *example* is also more common than the noun *instance*: in *Oxford Dictionaries Pro Online*, *example* appears among the top 1,000 frequently used words, while *instance* is not included in the list. Likewise, *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2008 [2003]) marks *for example* with an E[53] (which stands for 'Essential'), whereas *for instance* is marked with an A[54] (which stands for 'Advanced'). In other words, while *for example* is considered as one of the most basic and essential expressions which any speaker of English should know, *for instance* is kept for more advanced levels.

Differences can also be found as regards style. According to *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009 [1978]: 583), "*for instance* is slightly less

[52] The use of *e.g.* as an EM is much more restricted than that of *for example* and *for instance*, as seen in Section 6.1.4 above. Interchangeability is, therefore, much more limited when the marker is *e.g.*

[53] "Meanings marked E (Essential) are words that everyone needs to know in order to communicate effectively. They are either extremely common (usually over 400 occurrences per 10 million corpus words), or they express core concepts (e.g. *asleep*)". (*The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2008 [2003]: VIII)

[54] "Meanings marked A (Advanced) typically occur between 100-200 times per 10 million corpus words, which is still highly significant". (*The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2008 [2003]: VIII)

formal than *for example* and is used more in spoken English".[55] One of the reasons why *for instance* is so common in the spoken language probably has to do with phonetics: in speech (especially informal speech) *for instance* can be pronounced as a single word: *f'rinstance/frinstance*, that is, the two words of this phrase can be fused in one single word (see Section 4.2.2 above for further information on fusion). (6.65), taken from Sinclair Lewis' novel *Babbit*, illustrates this use, which is not recorded in the *OED*. In this extract, *frinstance* is not part of the narrator's voice, but the representation of a character's words, that is, direct speech.

(6.65) *Orville Jones commented, "And, then take* our other advantages –the movies, **frinstance**". (Lewis 1922: 232)

The other form which belongs to the group of neutral EMs is *e.g.* Like *for example* and *for instance*, *e.g.* also introduces an example without adding any emphatic connotation to it. Nonetheless, significant differences exist between *e.g.* and the other two forms in this group. As seen in Section 6.1.4 above, *e.g.* is usually restricted to parenthetical references, as in the example below.

(6.66) *Why did Europeans bring back* certain kinds of information (**e.g.** taxonomic and economic) *about the peacock flower of the Old World, while leaving knowledge of its use as an abortifacient in the New World?* (*OED*, s.v. *abortifacient* n. and adj., 2006 Brit. Jrnl. Hist. Sci. 39 589)

Moreover, from the stylistic point of view this form is confined to formal texts. Finally, the type of EE introduced by *e.g.* tends to be short (cf. (6.66) above, which consists of

[55] Cf. also O'Conner and Kellerman: *For instance* "may be slightly more informal". (<http://www.grammarphobia.com/blog/2012/07/for-example-vs-for-instance.html>)

three words), whereas *for example* and *for instance* may introduce both short and long EEs, even whole clauses.[56]

6.3.2. Hypothetical EMs

The group of hypothetical EMs is represented by the marker *say*. *Say* is different from the other markers in that the example it introduces is, in many cases, a supposition, a hypothesis. That is, the EE introduced by *say* is given as a hypothetical illustration of the GE, although there is no guarantee that it is in fact included in it. Let us consider example (6.37) above again, repeated here for convenience as (6.67):

(6.67) = (6.37) *If he were*, **say**, an Indian or Japanese coolie, *who can live on rice and onions, he wouldn't get fifteen shillings a week-he would be lucky if he got fifteen shillings a month.* (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.[1], 10.d. 1937. 'G. Orwell' *Road to Wigan Pier* vi. 100)

In this example, there is no GE, and the EE is *an Indian or Japanese coolie*. The narrator is speaking hypothetically: s/he is not claiming that the coolie is Indian or Japanese because s/he does not know the person's nationality; s/he is only hypothesising with that possibility. The hypothetical character of this example is emphasised by the presence of the conditional conjunction *if* in sentence-initial position.

6.3.3. Comparative EMs

The group of comparative EMs consists of the forms *like*, *such as* and (by extension) *as*. Although I am aware of the controversial use of the label *comparative* to name this group of EMs, I have opted for this term because it is precisely their comparative origin that makes these markers alike.

[56] For an analysis of the type of EE introduced by *for example* and *for instance*, see Section 8.4 below.

The histories of *such as* and *like* as EMs are closely connected. Evidence shows that they are used to introduce similar exemplifying constructions. However, while practically no linguist opposes to the use of *such as* to introduce examples, some scholars condemn the exemplifying function of *like* (cf. Section 6.1.6 above), claiming that *like* may be ambiguous when introducing an example as it may be confused with a comparative particle. For this reason, "*[s]uch as* has traditionally been preferred to *like* as a way of introducing examples" as "it prevented the ambiguity that might sometimes beset *like*" (Peters 2004: 522). However, for most authors such controversy does not exist. Follett (1966), for instance, sees nothing wrong in using *like* to introduce examples, and he even states that a slight difference in meaning exists between *like* and *such as*:

> *Such as* is close in meaning to *like* and may often be interchanged with it. The shade of difference between them is that *such as* leads the mind to imagine an indefinite group of objects: *man's great inventions, such as the wheel, the steam engine* […] The other comparing word *like* suggests a closer resemblance among the things compared: *direct satisfactions of sense, like food and drink*. It is owing to this extremely slight distinction that purists object to phrases of the type *a writer like Shakespeare, a leader like Lincoln*. No writer, say these critics, *is* like Shakespeare; and in this they are wrong; writers are alike in many things and the context usually makes clear what the comparison proposes to our attention. *Such as Shakespeare* may sound less impertinent, but if Shakespeare were totally incomparable *such as* would be open to the same objection as *like*. (Follett 1966: 314)

In other words, for Follett (1966) the main difference between these two EMs is the degree of definiteness of the EE which they introduce: whereas with *such as* the EE is indefinite, with *like* it is definite. Along similar lines, Bernstein (1971) claims that "[s]ome nitpickers object to saying, 'German composers *like* Beethoven', arguing that no composers were like Beethoven and that we should say *such as*. The argument is specious because *like* does not necessarily mean identical" (Bernstein 1971: 164). In

any case, what most authors seem to agree is that *like* should preferably be avoided in formal text-types due to its informal character (see Carter *et al.* 2011: 339).

Another trait shared by *like* and *such as* which makes them different from the rest of the EMs analysed in this dissertation is the fact that they frequently introduce an integrated EE (especially *like*). Let us consider a couple of examples. In (6.68) and (6.69) below a pause is not made between the GEs, *virtues* and *achy-breaky love songs*, respectively, and the EEs, *profitability and efficiency* and *The Milkman Of Human Kindness*. Nevertheless, even if the EEs are integrated, they do not restrict the meaning of the GEs.

(6.68) Virtues **such as** profitability and efficiency *are finally becoming widespread in the virtual world and the collapse of certain dot-coms may actually help ebusinesses achieve more sustainable development in the future.* (*OED*, s.v. *e-business* n., 2001 *Birmingham Post* (Electronic ed.) 15 May 22)

(6.69) *He made his name as a singer with* achy-breaky love-songs **like** The Milkman Of Human Kindness. (*OED*, s.v. *achy-breaky* adj., 2003 *Sunday Herald (Glasgow)* 26 Jan. (Review section) 5/2)

Given that *as* is defined in the *OED* as a reduced form of *such as*, it fits in this group of EMs. It can also introduce both non-integrated (cf. (6.70)) and integrated EEs (cf. (6.71)).

(6.70) *The plumage consists of an undervest of down (remarkable in* some species, **as** the wild swan and the eider duck, *for its softness and delicacy).* (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B.III.19, 1841 Penny Mag. Oct. 2 386/1)

(6.71) A prelat [prelate, i.e. a high-ranking church official] **as** an abott or a priour. (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B.III.19, ?c1430 (c1400) Wyclif Eng. Wks. (1880) 60)

6.3.4. Focalising EMs

This group of EMs comprises those forms which, without being as emphatic as particularisers such as *especially* or *particularly*, add a nuance of emphasis on the EE. In other words, by using focalising EMs, the example chosen is given certain relevance over any other element which could have been used to exemplify the GE. These EMs are *including* and *included*. The emphatic character of these two forms is evidenced in Meyer's (1992) semantic classification of appositional types: for Meyer (1992: 77), *including* (and by extension *included* too) is a marker of particularisation. If we recall example (2.16) above repeated below as (6.72), the choice of *my sister* to exemplify the GE *many people* is clearly made on purpose. From all the people who could have been chosen to exemplify the GE, the speaker opts for his/her sister because she is probably the most important example for him/her.

(6.72) = (2.16) Many people, **including** my sister, *won't forgive him for that.*

6.3.5. Recapitulation

In Sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.4 above, EMs have been classified taking into account certain differences and similarities of a semantic, syntactic and stylistic nature. The degree of emphasis added by the EM when giving an example is the backbone of this classification. On some occasions, I have also referred to the integrated/non-integrated character of the exemplifying constructions and to the degree of formality of the EM. Table 9 below summarises the most important features considered here for the classification of EMs, emphasising at the same time the gradual or non-categorical character of the classification proposed.

Table 9. Characteristics of EMs

	Emphasis	**Integration**	**Formality**	**Hypothesis**
for example	*	*	**	*
for instance	*	*	*	*
e.g.	*	*	***	*
say	*	*	**	**
such as	**	***	**	*
as	**	***	**	*
like	**	***	*	*
including	***	**	**	*
included	***	*	**	*

In the first column (*Emphasis*), * applies to the most neutral markers, that is to say to those markers which are almost always non-emphatic. The neutral forms are *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.* and *say*. In turn, ** indicates that the markers at issue (i.e. *such as*, *as* and *like*) add a certain nuance of emphasis to the EE, but not as much as those forms marked as *** (*including* and *included*), which are the most emphatic of all the EMs on this list. In the second column (*Integration*), * refers to those markers which occur in non-integrated constructions, namely *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *included* and *say*, while *** indicates those markers which tend to be used in integrated constructions (i.e. *such as*, *like* and *as*), although they are also possible in non-integrated ones. *Including* is marked as **, which means that it almost always introduces a non-integrated EE, but it may occasionally introduce an integrated EE as well. In the third column (*Formality*), *** identifies the most formal EM: *e.g.* In turn, * indicates those markers which are considered as rather informal: *for instance* and (especially) *like*. The

rest of the markers are neutral in this sense: they are perceived as neither formal nor informal, and are therefore marked as **. Finally, the fourth column (*Hypothesis*) distinguishes the EM which has been described as introducing a hypothetical example (*say*) from the rest of EMs which, in principle, do not introduce a hypothesis but a real example of the GE (*for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *such as*, *as*, *like*, *including* and *included*). Considering all these features together, *for example* seems to be the unmarked (and most prototypical) EM: *for example* is neither formal nor informal, and it introduces examples (mostly in non-integrated constructions) without adding any emphasis. In turn, *for instance* and *e.g.* would only be marked from a stylistic point of view, *for instance* considered as less formal and *e.g.* as highly formal. As for *say*, it is marked because it introduces an example which may or may not be included in the GE. Finally, *including*, *such as*, *as* and *like* are the most marked EMs as they can emphasise the EE, which can be an integrated construction. *Included*, however, is only marked as regards emphasis.

6.4. Classification of EMs according to their position in the exemplifying sequence

Given that an EM is the link between the GE and the EE, its expected position in the exemplifying sequence is between those two units. However, as seen in Section 2.2.3.3 above, AMs (including EMs) may also occur in other positions. In this section, I propose a classification of EMs based on the position which they may occupy in the exemplifying sequence.

I. EMs which only occur in P1

Most EMs (namely, *including*, *like*, *e.g.* and *such as*; cf. (6.73) to (6.76) below) can only precede the EE, i.e. they appear in P1. As already explained in Section 2.2.3.3, this is the unmarked position for any type of AM.

(6.73) = (2.16) Many people, **including** my sister, *won't forgive him for that*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1308)

(6.74) A birth **like** that of Keats *presents to the ordinary mind a striking instance of nature's inscrutability*. (*OED*, s.v. *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.[2]. 1887, S. Colvin *Keats* i. 1)

(6.75) *Sources whose dates cannot be fixed to a particular year are dated by* century (**e.g**. 12, 13 etc.), *by* regnal year (**e.g**. E1, H2 etc.) *or* a range of years (**e.g**. 1189-1217). (*OED*, s.v. *E.* n., *e.g.* adv., 1970, J. McN. Dodgson *Place-names Cheshire* p. xlv)

(6.76) All of the cat kind, **such as** the lion, the tiger, the leopard, and the ounce. (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., 1774, O. Goldsmith *Hist. Earth* III. 198)

II. EMs which only occur in P3

There is only one EM which necessarily follows the EE, namely *included*, as illustrated in example (2.17) above, repeated below for convenience as (6.77). This is the main feature which distinguishes this marker from its counterpart *including*, which is always preposed to the EE. The postposition of *included* is one of the reasons why it is less frequently used than *including*, which clearly delimits where the EE starts. *Included*, being placed at the end of the EE, may be potentially ambiguous, as the reader/hearer only gets to know that it is a case of exemplification at the end of the sequence.

(6.77) = (2.17) Many people, my sister **included**, *won't forgive him for that*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1308)

III. EMs without a fixed position (P1, P2, P3)

For example and *for instance* show a peculiar behaviour: their position in the exemplifying sequence is not fixed. They can be used not only in P1 (cf. (6.78)) and P3 (cf. (6.79)), but also in the middle of the EE (i.e. P2; cf. (6.80)). When an EM is used in P2, it usually isolates a part of the EE which becomes automatically emphasised. Thus, in (6.80) below *hydrogen* is foregrounded and, therefore, given additional importance.

(6.78) The arguments in favour of capital punishment revolve around the ancient biblical concept of "an eye for an eye". **For example,** a criminal who murders should himself be murdered to fulfil what is considered by many to be justice. (Paquot 2007)

(6.79) *The daily motion of the Earth is very different* in different parts –at the equator and at a pole, **for instance**. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., 1868, J. N. Lockyer *Elem. Lessons Astron.* (1870) iv. §326)

(6.80) Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example,** burns completely clean. (Paquot 2007)

Though to a lesser extent, *say* also shows a high degree of mobility (see (6.81) and (6.82)).

(6.81) In very special circumstances, *you might be pressured into parenthood;* **say**, you came from a particularly respected royal line which your subjects felt should continue. (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.1, 10.d. 1977. *Proc. Classical Assoc.* LXXIV. 14)

(6.82) *In Ratliff it was that hearty celibacy as of* a lay brother in a twelfth-century monastery –a gardener, a pruner of vines, **say**. (*OED*, s.v. *say* v.1, 10d. 1940, W. Faulkner *Hamlet* i. ii. 40)

According to Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995: 118-119), the position of EMs is conditioned by the type of EE which they introduce. Her research focuses on the

Spanish marker *por ejemplo*, but her comments can safely be applied to our markers *for example* and *for instance* (and less commonly to *say*).

- If the EE is a simple NP, the EM can occur in either P1 (cf. (6.83a)) or P3 (cf. (6.83b)). However, depending on where exactly it appears in P2, the resulting construction may be ungrammatical (cf. (6.83c)) or it may have a different meaning, as in (6.83d), where the EE is *of 20/14* and does not refer back to *a specific number of basic boxes* but to *10,000 boxes*.

(6.83)

a. *Orders are often given for the equivalent of* a specific number of basic boxes, **for example**, 10,000 boxes of 20/14. (*OED*, s.v. *basic* adj. and n.[1], a.1f, 1914 J. H. Jones *Tinplate Industry* 141)

b. *Orders are often given for the equivalent of* a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes of 20/14, **for example**.

c. **Orders are often given for the equivalent of* a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 **for example** boxes of 20/14.

d. *Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes* **for example** of 20/14.

- If the EE is a list of NPs, that is an enumeration, the EM can precede it (cf. (6.84a) and (6.85a)) or follow it when the list is closed (cf. (6.84b)), but not when it is open (cf. (6.85b)). Along similar lines, it can never appear between the different items listed (see (6.84c) and (6.85c)).

(6.84)

a. *This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of* several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines', **for example**: bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics. (*OED*, s.v. *biolinguistics* n., 1974 *Eng. Jrnl*. 63 65/1)

b. *This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of* several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines': bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics, **for example**.

c. **This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of* several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines': bio-linguistics, **for example**, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics.

(6.85) a. *In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only* the initial letters. **For example** C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *c* n., initialisms, 1813 tr. J. J. Berzelius in Ann. Philos. 2 359)

b. **In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only* the initial letters. C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.], **for example**.

c. **In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only* the initial letters. C = carbon, **for example**, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.].

- Finally, if the EE is a whole sentence, the EM can usually occur in any position, i.e. P1, P2 or P3:

(6.86) = (6.80) a. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example**, burns completely clean.

b. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. **For example**, hydrogen burns completely clean.

c. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen burns completely clean, **for example**.

6.5. Pleonastic markers

Occasionally, AMs may be modified by an added component such as an adverb or a conjunction. Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 23) use the term *reinforcement* to refer to such cases. More specifically, when that added element is another AM, they talk about *pleonastic markers*. These authors explain the existence of pleonastic markers on account of two main reasons. On the one hand, a disambiguating function may motivate these combinations. In their own words, "[i]t is a well-known fact that when a word or phrase begins to lose its effect it may be strengthened or reinforced by an additional component" (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23). In like manner, when a word or phrase is

acquiring a new meaning or function, it may also need some kind of reinforcement. Pahta and Nevanlinna's (2001) words can be extrapolated to the origin of EMs. Thus, in many of their early occurrences EMs used to combine with other EMs, especially with *as* (see Section 6.1.8 above). (6.87) to (6.89) below illustrate some early combinations of *as* with *for example* and *for instance*.

(6.87) **As for example**, euery *flexor* or bending muscle hath a *tensor* or extending muscle; euery *adductor*, that is, which moueth *toward* hath an *abductor* which moueth *froward*. (*OED*, s.v. *adductor* n., 1615 H. Crooke *Μικροκοσμογραφια* 741)

(6.88) *We are nonplus'd at* a thousand Phenomenas in Nature, *which if they were not done, we should have thought them absolutely impossible*, **as for instance** the central Libration of the Earth. (*OED*, s.v. *libration* n., 2, 1678 J. Norris *Coll. Misc.* (1699) 181)

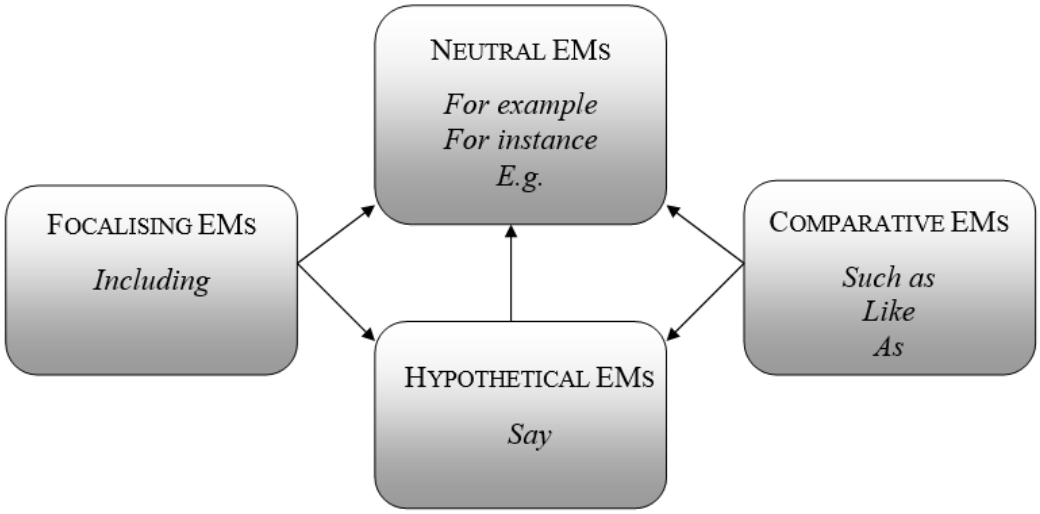
(6.89) *If* the heated body *is not luminous or incandescent*, **as** hot water, **for instance**. (*OED*, s.v. *incandescent* adj. (and n.), 1.a, 1822 T. Webster *Imison's Elem. Sci. & Art* (new ed.) II. 27)

This necessity to co-occur with other EMs may be due to the fact that the emerging marker is still not straightforwardly identified as such, and it therefore needs to be reinforced by an already established and unambiguous EM. Hence the use of *as* (which, according to the *OED*, had been used as an EM since the 13th century; cf. Section 6.1.8) to reinforce emerging EMs.

Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 23) give another possible explanation for these combinations. When a second marker or another reinforcing element is added, the distance between the anchor and the appositive is bigger, and this can be used by the speaker as a strategy "to prepare the addressee better for the expository part of the apposition or to stress the importance of the second unit" (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23).

Besides the reasons adduced by Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001), the existence of pleonastic markers may also be explained on the basis of the semantics of the EM added. For this reason, the EMs cannot combine at random: only certain markers can co-occur, and even in these combinations the markers come in a given order. This is no doubt related to the fact that some markers show a tighter bound with the GE to which they refer than others: in general terms, neutral EMs have a more autonomous character and can therefore be separated from their GEs, whereas focalising and comparative forms exhibit a stronger connection with their GEs. Figure 2 illustrates the potential combinations of EMs. The direction of the arrows indicates which marker comes first.

Figure 2. Potential combinations of EMs



As we can see, all the groups can combine with *for example*, *for instance* and, to a lesser extent, *e.g.* In all such cases, these three forms follow the other EMs. The two most emphatic groups, namely focalising EMs and comparative EMs, never combine with each other. *Included* is not considered here since this EM has not been found to occur with another EM. Two main reasons may explain this. On the one hand, *included*

is very rarely used as an EM, which means that combinations with this form may be difficult to find. On the other hand, the position which this item occupies in the exemplifying sequence, namely P3, makes its combination with other EMs highly unlikely. In the sections that follow, the different combinations of EMs are examined in detail.

6.5.1. EM + for example, for instance, e.g.

The formulas *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* are, from a semantic point of view, the most prototypical markers of exemplification in PDE. As seen in Section 6.3.1 above, they are *neutral* markers which introduce the EE without adding any emphasis to it. As a consequence, when used after another EM they may cancel any potential connotation of emphasis conveyed by the preceding marker. Given that *for example* is the most neutral and unmarked EM (cf. Section 6.3.5 above), it is the one which most frequently combines with other EMs. The different combinations of an EM plus *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* are illustrated in the following examples, which have been taken from the *OED* and from the Internet.[57]

(6.90) *That does not justify from desisting from* a pragmatical or even a technical purpose (**as**, **for example**, that of travelling in the air in aerostatical balloons). (*OED*, s.v. *aerostatical* adj., 1798, tr. E. Kant *Ess. & Treat.* I. 217)

(6.91) Other languages, *to be sure*, **as for instance** the Greek, *have their classes of properly accentless words, which attach themselves more or less closely, as proclitics or enclitics, to some other more prominent word in the sentence.* (*OED*, s.v. *accentless* adj., 1856 *Jrnl. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 5 213)

[57] Given that some EMs are not very frequent in the language, combinations of two of these items are sometimes difficult to find in the *OED* and in the other material consulted. Hence the use of the Internet to provide examples of such combinations when they do not occur in the dictionaries. Still, reputable and trustworthy web pages were used, most examples being taken from the *BBC*, the *NASA* or *The Telegraph* web sites. All these examples were accessed on May 2014.

(6.92) = (6.34) If their Characters *were wholly perfect*, (**such as for Example**, the Character of a Saint or Martyr in a Play). (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., 1695. Dryden in tr. C. A. Du Fresnoy *De Arte Graphica* Pref. p. xvi)

(6.93) *Existing domain name holders fear that speculators will try to snap up the new names and* 'cybersquat' names **like**, **for instance**, cocacola.biz. (*OED*, s.v. *cybersquat* v., 2000. *Guardian* 23 Nov. 5)

(6.94) The 'flat-adverbs' (**like e.g**. *fast*). (*OED*, s.v. *flat* adj., adv. and noun, A.II.12.c. 1965. *Eng. Stud.* 46 356)

(6.95) *Agglutination is a particular characteristic of* certain non-Indo-European languages, **including** (**for example)** Hungarian, Nahuatl, Korean, Japanese, and Turkish. (*OED*, s.v. *agglutination* n., 6)

(6.96) *If someone you knew who had just lost a loved one sat down opposite you,* in **say** a cafe **for instance**, *you would not begin to mock their loss*. (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12775389)

In the majority of examples, the EMs occur side by side, except for (6.96) where the EM *say* comes in P1 whereas *for instance* appears in P3. As a matter of fact, examples where the EE separates the two EMs are not infrequent, at least in previous stages of the language, especially when the EM which comes in second place is *for instance*.

The *OED* provides some peculiar combinations of EMs where the markers *for example* and *for instance* are inserted between the two items which constitute the complex marker *such as*. These singular combinations are, however, not very common: 10 examples of *such for instance as* (cf. (6.97)) and eight of *such for example as* (cf. (6.98)). These instances date from the 19th and 20th centuries, except for one which is recorded in the second half of the 18th century.

(6.97) *Yet there are* binary compounds *which are not electrolysable,* **such**, **for instance**, **as** pure water, and chloride of sulphur. (*OED*, s.v. *electrolysable/electrolyzable* adj., 1856. W. A. Miller *Elements Chem.* II. 1124)

(6.98) Some aquatic animals, **such**, **for example**, **as** certain kinds of midge larvae and pea mussels, *are able to live a long time in lake water almost completely devoid of oxygen.* (*OED*, s.v. *pea* n.[2], Compounds, C2, *pea mussel*; 1950 *Sci. News* 15 91)

6.5.2. EM + say

In similar fashion, *say* may also follow other EMs. Considering the semantic content of the EM *say* discussed in Section 6.3.2 above, the pleonastic use of this marker in an exemplifying construction might be a strategy used by the speaker/writer to add a connotation of hypothesis to the construction (cf. (6.99) and (6.100) below). *Say* cannot, however, follow *for example*, *for instance* or *e.g.*, probably because it is more marked than these EMs.

(6.99) *As for the reconstruction of Iraq, this surely needs to be undertaken chiefly by America and supported by* a coalition of the willing, **including**, **say**, Spain, Italy and Australia, as well as Britain. (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/3589366/UN-must-earn-its-role.html)

(6.100) *This time round, party names will appear in bold on the ballot papers for the regional vote and, while* descriptions (**such as**, **say**, "Alex Salmond for first minister") *are permitted, they must be registered with the electoral authorities.* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-12849105)

6.5.3. Other combinations

In all the examples considered, the EMs combined are not linked by any conjunction. In fact, except for (6.96) where the two EMs are separated by intervening material, in the remaining examples the EMs are juxtaposed. The combination of two EMs other than those in Figure 2 above is not possible in PDE. Nevertheless, in some examples two EMs are linked by the coordinating conjunction *and*, as shown in (6.101)-(6.103) below. In all such cases, the combinations contain a marker of the comparative group (in particular *such as* or *like*) followed by *including*. Some of these combinations may respond to a desire to avoid the potential ambiguity of the EM *like* mentioned in Section 6.3.3 above: the speaker/writer may feel that, by using *like* or *such as*, the example given is not included in the GE, but only used as a point of reference with which the GE

can be compared. As a consequence, s/he adds a second marker (i.e. *including*) to make the relation of inclusion clear. The coordination of *such as* with *including* shown in (6.103) is surprising given that, in contrast to *like*, this EM is not considered in the literature as potentially ambiguous.

(6.101) *Within less than 15 years, the count of known planets orbiting stars other than the Sun has risen from none to more than 400 with detections arising from four successfully applied techniques: Doppler-wobbles, planetary transits, gravitational microlensing, and direct imaging. While the hunt for twin Earths is on, a statistically well-defined sample of the population of planets in all their variety is required for probing models of planet formation and orbital evolution so that the origin of planets that harbour life, **like and including** ours, can be understood.* (The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System. <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2010AN....331..671D>)

(6.102) *Large-scale features in the survey are qualitatively similar to those in other surveys: there are large voids surrounded or nearly surrounded by thin dense regions which are sections of structures **like (and including)** the Great Wall.* (The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System. <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/1997AJ....114.2205G>)

(6.103) *Normally all pages on the AU Web site are developed by AU staff. In some cases, outside authors may be used to develop pages for the AU site. In other cases, outside authors are required for the development of certain functions approved by the Web Team (**such as and including** Flash video and other Flash elements).* (Aurora University. <http://www.aurora.edu/student-life/resources/its/policy-web.html>)

6.6. Summary

Chapter 6 has offered a detailed analysis of the English EMs *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *say*, *such as*, *like* and *as*. With the help of the *OED* and the *MED*, the origin of these forms has been identified, and their earliest occurrences in the language have also been traced back. With some exceptions, the majority of these forms are recorded for the first time in the *OED* in the 17th century. *For example* is the earliest marker to be recorded in the *OED* (mid-14th century), whereas *like*, which is not attested in the *OED* until the late 19th century, is the last of the forms analysed here to acquire an

exemplifying function (see Section 6.1). Forms such as *par exemple* and *for example sake* (also *for example-sake* or *for the sake of example*) are also occasionally used in English, although they are not productive. In previous stages of the language, other EMs were also available to introduce examples. Thus, the noun *example* could be used in a wide range of phrases, including *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example*, *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why*. Other obsolete EMs are *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose* and *suppose* (cf. Section 6.2).

PDE EMs can be classified according to various parameters. From a semantic point of view, a classification into four groups has been proposed taking into account the degree of emphasis added by the EM to the example which it introduces (see Section 6.3). From less to more emphatic, these groups are: neutral EMs (*for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*), hypothetical EMs (*say*), comparative EMs (*such as*, *as*, *like*) and focalising EMs (*including*, *included*). The focalising group of EMs seems to be half way between exemplification and particularisation: they emphasise the example which they introduce, but not so much as particularisers do. The comparative group of EMs tends to introduce an integrated EE, whereas the rest of EMs occur in non-integrated constructions, except for *including*, which may occasionally introduce an integrated unit too. If we pay attention at the formal vs. informal character of the EMs, *e.g.* is clearly formal, whereas *for instance* and, especially, *like* are informal. The rest of the EMs considered here are neither formal nor informal.

EMs can also be classified taking into account the position which they occupy in relation to the EE (see Section 6.4). Thus, whereas some EMs can only appear in P1, i.e. before the EE (*including*, *such as*, *like*, *e.g.*), others exclusively occur in P3, i.e. after the

EE (*included*). Yet, other EMs are rather flexible as regards position: *for example*, *for instance* and, to a lesser extent *say*, can occur in P1, P2 and P3.

Finally, two EMs can sometimes co-occur in the same exemplifying sequence (cf. Section 6.5), thus resulting in what is known as *pleonastic markers*. In all the attested combinations of EMs, the most emphatic form comes first, and is followed by a more neutral form. The main reason for such arrangement has to do with the fact that by adding a second neutral marker, the connotation of emphasis conveyed by the first item may be cancelled. If the second EM is *say*, it adds a certain nuance of uncertainty on the EE. Moreover, those markers which are more emphatic have a tighter bound with the GE, and they may introduce an integrated EE. As such, they have to occur side by side with the EE. In none of these combinations the EMs are linked by conjunctions, but some examples are also found where *such as* and *like* are coordinated with *including* (*such as and including*, *like and including*). The addition of *and including* in these sequences may be a strategy used by the speaker/writer in order to make clear that *such as* and *like* do not have a comparative value in the examples at issue, but rather an exemplifying one.

7. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF *INCLUDING*, *INCLUDED*, *FOR EXAMPLE* AND *FOR INSTANCE* AS EMS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings from the corpus study of the historical development of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* from their earliest occurrences as EMs until the present-day as represented in the *HC* and *ARCHER*. First, some quantitative information on the general development of these four EMs is given (cf. Section 7.2). Here, the relation between the use of these four forms in exemplifying structures and their use in other constructions is considered for each individual period. In other words, the exemplifying use of *including* and *included* is compared with their verbal function, and the exemplifying use of *for example* and *for instance* is compared with the use of the nouns *example* and *instance* outside these formulas. The comparison aims at revealing how the exemplifying use of these forms develops across time in relation to their source meanings. In addition, issues such as the type of syntactic units which these EMs link and the position which they occupy in the exemplifying sequence are also taken into account in the chapter. Special attention is paid to those instances which illustrate the process of grammaticalisation which *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* have undergone over time in order to become EMs. Then, the role which different text-types may have had in the development of the selected markers is considered (cf. Section 7.2.2). Finally, Section 7.3 summarises the most important points discussed throughout the chapter.

7.2. *Including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora

7.2.1. Earliest occurrences and general diachronic development

Table 10 below summarises the diachronic development of the forms under analysis. For the sake of accuracy, the table provides not only the total number of tokens found per period, but also the normalised frequencies (NFs) per 1,000,000 words.[58]

The first column in each period refers to the exemplifying uses of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora (this use is illustrated in (7.1) to (7.5) below), whereas the second column corresponds to any other use of the nouns *example* and *instance* and the verbal forms *including* and *included*, i.e. their non-EM functions (cf. (7.5) to (7.8)).

(7.1) *But Soviet Russia still insists on guarantees for* all countries along her western borders, **including** the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. (*ARCHER*, 1939man2.n7b)

(7.2) *We were favoured with a very good luncheon in the large dining-room, at which* everyone (ladies **included**)*, except the royal personages, at Osborne assisted*. (*ARCHER*, 1899fitz.j6b)

(7.3) The animal juices, the blood **for example**, *freeze at 25°; so that a piece of dead flesh could be frozen in such an atmosphere*. (*ARCHER*, 1775hunt.s4b)

(7.4) *If from such three equations we determined H and Z, we might proceed as before, and examine, by means of a fourth star, whether it were necessary to suppose the existence of* a third cause (an error in the line of collimation **for instance**) *to account for the differences in the clock's error.* (*ARCHER*, 1825wood.s5b)

(7.5) *The police made 60 arrests. These* ***included*** *17 students, who have since been released, and 40 young men of the working class, who belong to the Communist organization known as "Young Communists."* (*ARCHER*, 1928tim2.n7b)

[58] NFs are given due to the unbalanced number of words per period. As seen in Section 5.2.1 above, 650,354 words were analysed for ME, 781,152 for EModE, 699,810 for LModE and just 366,714 for the 20th century.

Table 10. Historical development of the EMs *including*, *included*, *(for) example* and *(for) instance* in comparison to their non-EM uses (raw figures and NFs per 1,000,000 words)[59]

		ME		EModE		LModE		20th century		TOTAL	
		EM	Non-EM	EM	Non-EM	EM	Non-EM	EM	Non-EM	EM	Non-EM
Including	Tokens	-	-	-	2	13	2	32	5	45	9
	NF	-	-	-	2.56	18.58	2.86	87.26	13.63	105.84	19.05
Included	Tokens	-	-	1	5	3	5	-	23	4	33
	NF	-	-	1.28	6.40	4.29	7.14	-	62.72	5.57	76.26
For example	Tokens	1	73	15	66	14	48	22	14	52	201
	NF	1.54	112.25	19.20	84.49	20.01	68.59	59.99	38.18	100.74	303.50
For instance	Tokens	-	3	5	20	19	50	8	15	32	88
	NF	-	4.61	6.40	25.60	27.15	71.45	21.82	40.90	55.37	142.57
TOTAL	Tokens	1	76	21	93	49	105	62	57	133	331
	NF	1.54	116.86	26.88	119.05	70.02	150.04	169.07	155.43	267.51	541.39

[59] The label non-EM applies to any use of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* outside the EMs under analysis.

(7.6) […] *as she concluded this judicious remark, she turned to the Miss Gunns that she might not commit the rudeness of not* ***including*** *them in the conversation.* (*ARCHER*, 1861elio.f6b)

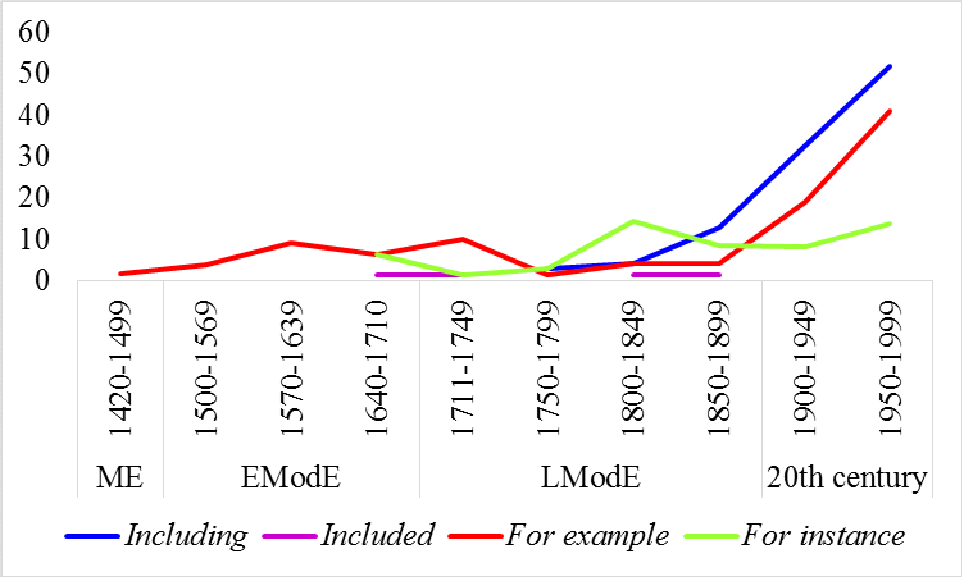
(7.7) *For several days she seemed an* ***example*** *of patience and resignation* […]. (*ARCHER*, 1778reev.f4b)

(7.8) *I'll give you an* ***instance***. (*ARCHER*, 1964berg.f8b)

The total number of occurrences of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* in the corpora amounts to 464, out of which only 133 (28.73%) correspond to their use in the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. Figure 3 below shows the development of these 133 historical examples graphically. Here the data are further divided into different subperiods: for EModE, the division into 70-year subperiods made in the *HC* is followed, while for LModE and the 20th century the data are divided into time spans of 50 years, in accordance with the periodisation in *ARCHER*. The only exception to this division is the time span 1711-1749, a 38-year interval motivated by the overlap of texts from the *HC* and *ARCHER*, as explained in Section 5.2.1 above.

The breakdown of the data into different subperiods clearly shows that LModE was an age of instability, fluctuation and rapid change in the development of the four selected EMs. Thus, *including* is the only form which shows an upwards trend since its first appearance in the corpus data in the EModE period until the present-day. *For example*, in turn, shows an uneven use before the second half of the 19th century, when it starts increasing its frequency from one period to the next. *For instance* is not very common in any of the periods under analysis, its use reaching a peak in the first half of the 19th century. Finally, *included* is extremely infrequent in the corpus data as it occurs

Figure 3. Development of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* across time[60]



only once in EModE and three times in LModE. In the sections that follow, the development of each EM is considered separately.

7.2.1.1. Including

In most corpus examples, the distinction between the verbal function of *including* and its use as an EM is straightforward and unproblematic. For example, in (7.9) below *including* is the *–ing* form of the verb *include* which takes a place adjunct (i.e. *in the conversation*). Here, the *–ing* form of the verb is required by the preposition *of*, and it cannot be mistaken for an EM since the sequence does not contain a GE and an EE. Along similar lines, in (7.10) *including* also comes after a preposition, in this case *without*. This example is particularly interesting because, unlike example (7.9), its structure is very similar to that of the exemplifying constructions under analysis in this

[60] The data in this figure are given in NFs.

dissertation. In fact, we could at first sight consider *above Fifty Thousand Men for Recruits* to be the GE and *those that fall in Battel* its EE. However, the negative meaning of the preposition *without* implies that the second unit is not included in the first (i.e. it is not an example of it), and therefore they cannot be analysed as GE and EE respectively. The omission of the preposition *without* would result in a prototypical exemplifying construction.[61] Other instances are discarded due to semantic reasons. For example, in (7.11) below *including* does not introduce an example of a GE, but it refers to the limits of an area (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.c.), i.e. to the part of the urchin which is being measured.[62]

(7.9) […] *and as she concluded this judicious remark, she turned to the Miss Gunns that she might not commit the rudeness of not* ***including*** *them in the conversation.* (*ARCHER*, 1861elio.f6b)

(7.10) *It appears by the Muster Rolls, that the King has in pay above 400000 Men, and by the List the Collonels give in at the end of each Campaign, that they have lost yearly at least one Man in eight, by Sickness or Desertion alone, so that we want every year above Fifty Thousand Men for Recruits,* ***without including*** *those that fall in Battel.* (*ARCHER*, 1697pos1.n2b)

(7.11) *It has been stated that no trace of the adult anus can be seen before the urchin has reached a diameter of 6 mm. (this probably* ***includes*** *the spines). Once, while a living urchin (diameter,* ***including*** *the spines, 4-5 mm.) was being observed, it was seen to raise the sur-anal plate slightly opposite genital 1 for the purpose of ejecting faecal pellets.* (*ARCHER*, 1925gord.s7b)

The form *including* is attested in the corpora for the first time in the EModE period functioning as a verb (NF 2.56), while we have to wait until LModE (1752 to be precise) to find the first exemplifying use of *including* (cf. example (7.12) below). This example is dated only 26 years after the earliest example of *including* as an EM in the *OED* (cf. Section 6.1.1 above). The exemplifying function of *including* is more

[61] Further problematic examples of this kind are examined in Section 8.1 below.

[62] An in-depth explanation of the semantic evolution of the verb *include* is given in Section 6.1.1 above.

common than its source meaning in both LModE (NF 18.58 for the EM vs. 2.86 for the non-EM) and in the 20th century (NF 87.26 for the EM vs. 13.63 for the non-EM). The increase in the use of this EM is especially sharp from LModE to the 20th century (from NF 18.58 to NF 87.26).

(7.12) *By the Lists that have been made of the Number of Inhabitants in this City, it appears that in 1747 it amounted to* 107,224 Souls, **including** the Garrison. (*ARCHER*, 1752lon2.n4b)

Although with some exceptions which will be discussed below, the use of the EM *including* in the corpus material is overall consistent and does not show the potential different stages of the process of grammaticalisation which this form has undergone in order to become an EM. In all its occurrences, the EM *including* comes in P1. This means that it does not show syntactic freedom, which, in Lehmann's (2002a [1995]: 146) terminology, is called *fixation* and is one of the parameters used to determine the degree of grammaticality of a given form (cf. Section 4.2.2 above): the more syntactically fixed a form is, the more grammatical it is. Likewise, *including* always links nominal elements which function as DO (cf. (7.13)), subject (cf. (7.14)), SPC (cf. (7.15)) and complement of a preposition (CP, cf. (7.12) above).

(7.13) *MADAME RISTORI has been giving* a series of dramatic performances *in Berlin*, **including** her well-known impersonations of Media, Maria Stuards, and Pia de Tolomei. (*ARCHER*, 1872gla1.n6b)

(7.14) *In the first place, for fear I forget it again*, my Aunts *send their best love*, **including** Aunt Raikes. (*ARCHER*, 1851carl.x6b)

(7.15) *Among the 40-odd Egyptian commandos captured in this area over the last few days were* four officers, **including** a major. (*ARCHER*, 1967stm2.n8b)

Let us analyse (7.14) in greater detail. The elements of the exemplifying sequence in this instance show a peculiar arrangement: the GE and the EE do not appear alongside,

but they are separated by the predicate. As seen in Section 2.2.2.7 above, in all types of appositional constructions (including exemplification) the two units tend to appear next to each other, but on occasions some linguistic material may intervene between them. The resulting constructions are, in Quirk *et al.*'s (1985: 1302) terminology, cases of *discontinuous* apposition or, in this case, discontinuous exemplification. According to Seoane-Posse (1994: 174-175) and Meyer (1992: 38), the insertion of linguistic material between the GE and the EE when the construction functions as subject (as in (7.14)) is intended to avoid heavy units in pre-verbal position.[63]

Finally, the 20th century data from *ARCHER* also provide a very interesting example where the GE is omitted. This is given as (7.16) below.

(7.16) *We should have heard from them last night…* **including** accidents. (*ARCHER*, 1922.fagn.d7b)

Although the omission of the GE is somewhat common with some EMs (cf. Sections 7.2.1.3 and 7.2.1.4 below on *for example* and *for instance*), it is unexpected with *including*. In this example, there is no element overtly expressed in the sentence to which the EE *accidents* refers back, although this can be easily understood from the context: *we should have heard* news *from them*, *news* being the GE.

7.2.1.2. Included

The distinction between the use of *included* as a prototypical verb and its use as an EM is even easier than for *including*. As a prototypical verb, *included* always has a subject (*these* in (7.17) below and *the results of extensive reductions for other elements* in

[63] Further instances of intervening material between the GE and the EE are analysed in Section 8.3 below.

(7.18)) and, when it functions as a past participle, it always follows an auxiliary form (*are* in (7.18)).

(7.17) *Nine policemen were among those wounded in last night's rioting in Belgrade. The police made 60 arrests. These* ***included*** *17 students, who have since been released, and 40 young men of the working class, who belong to the Communist organization known as "Young Communists".* (*ARCHER*, 1928tim2.n7b)

(7.18) *The immediate subject of the paper is the lunar diurnal variation of the earth's magnetic field, and particularly that of the declination at Greenwich, although the results of extensive reductions for other elements, at Batavia, Zikawei, and Pavlovsk, are also* ***included****.* (*ARCHER*, 1925cha1.s7b)

The form *included* occurs for the first time in the corpus material in EModE, when it is used as both a verbal form (NF 6.40) and as an EM (NF 1.28). The earliest occurrence of the EM *included*, given as (7.19) below, is formally similar to the earliest instance of the marker in the *OED* given above under (6.9) (cf. Section 6.1.1) and repeated below as (7.20) for convenience. Remarkably, the *ARCHER* example antedates the earliest *OED* attestation by 39 years.

(7.19) *In all this action, we lost not one ship, and the number of* men (officers **included**) *that were killed, 600, and wounded, 1536, or thereabouts.* (*ARCHER*, 1704poco.j3b)

(7.20) = (6.9) All the Hands *we could muster in both Watches,* Officers **included**, *were but twelve.* (*OED*, s.v. *muster* v.[1], 5.a, 1743 J. Bulkeley & J. Cummins *Voy. to South-seas* 16)

A detailed analysis of the example reveals its potential ambiguity. Here, *officers* may be considered as referring back either to *number* or to *men*. If we consider that it refers back to *number*, the construction is not exemplifying: *officers included* would be a remark added to clarify that the number of men that were killed amounts to 600 because the officers are comprised in that number. However, according to the second interpretation (the one followed here), *officers* would be an example of *men* and

therefore the construction would be exemplifying. This analysis is supported by the fact that the verb *were* is in the plural and agrees with *men* and not with *number*, thus suggesting that *the number of* might be omitted.[64]

After this early example, the EM *included* is attested in LModE, though only sporadically (just three occurrences; NF 4.29; see (7.21) to (7.23) below).

(7.21) *We have Advice that the first Column of Prince Lobkowitz's Army arrived at Monte Rotondo on the 18th past, the second on the 19th, the third on the 21st; but that the fourth, consisting of* 5 or 6000 Men, the last Draught from Lombardy **included**, *was still in March through the Ecclesiatical State.* (*ARCHER*, 1744lon2.n3b)

(7.22) = (7.2) *We were favoured with a very good luncheon in the large dining-room, at which* everyone (ladies **included**), *except the royal personages, at Osborne assisted*. (*ARCHER*, 1899fitz.j6b)

(7.23) *"It is worthy of observation", he says, "that France, after having tried* very mode of Election, Universal Suffrage **included**, *which she shewed to be the most hostile to real liberty, should deem it now to be her wisest policy to fix the scale of qualification at so high a rate –whilst Reformers in this country, blind to the fatal experience which has been afforded by France, still insist upon Universal Suffrage as the only principle consistent with true freedom.* (*ARCHER*, 1819mor1.n5b)

In these examples, *included* links nominal elements and occurs in its expected position, namely P3. This confirms that *including* and *included* have had a clear pattern of distribution and a fixed position in relation to the EE (i.e. fixation; cf. Section 4.2.2 above) from their earliest occurrences as EMs, thus showing division of labour. As for the syntactic functions carried out by exemplifying constructions with *included*, these are CP (cf. (7.21)), subject (cf. (7.22)) and DO (cf. (7.23)). No attestations of the EM *included* are found in the 20th century data from *ARCHER*, a period when the verbal function of this form increases from NF 7.14 in LModE to NF 62.72.

[64] On this particular example, I consulted with eight native English speakers from the US. They all agreed that, in spite of its potential ambiguity, *included* functions as an EM here.

7.2.1.3. For example

Taking into account all possible spellings, the noun *example* occurs 74 times in the ME section of the *HC*. The complete list of spellings found is the following: *example*, *exampylle*, *exemple*, *exsample*, *exsampyl*, *ensample*, *ensampille*, *ensampull*, *ensaumpile*, *ensaumple*, *ensawmple*, *ansaumple*, *asampil* and *exemplum* (cf. Section 5.3 above). Most of these occurrences correspond to the use of *example* in its prototypical nominal function (NF 112.25). Only in five cases it is part of an EM, either in one of the obsolete EMs explained in Section 6.2.2 above (four occurrences), or in a non-grammaticalised form of *for example* (one occurrence). These instances are particularly relevant since they illustrate the early stages of the process of grammaticalisation undergone by *for example* over time. Let us consider these cases in detail.

(7.24) And in sqwyche blake eyn, yff ther be spottys very reede and noght rounde, in maner rede as fyre, and with-in tho spottys ther be odyr off pale coloure, and odyr cerkyllys off yelw coloure with-in aboute the syte off the ye, qwydyr the balle off the ye be off blody coloure, or pale or with pyrlys; yff also sqwyche maner off yin meue fast, with-owte meuyng of the eye-lyddys, kepyng hem alwey opyn, –in that persone regnyth alle euyl dyspocycion off hastynes, and malyce, and crwelnes. And doctour Palemon, **be exsampyl**, concludyth vpon this tokyn in hys tragedy, the thyrd metyr, vp-on Herculys, qwere he begynnyth in aladis oculis. (*HC*, c1450.cmmetham)

‘And in such black eyes, if there are spots very red and not round, in manner red as fire, and within the spots there are other of pale colour, and other circles of yellow colour within about the site of the eye, whether the ball of the eye is of bloody colour, or pale or with pearls; if also such manner of yours moves fast, without moving the eye-lids, keeping them always open, –in that person reigns all evil disposition of hastiness, and malice and cruelness. And doctor Palemon, for example, concludes on this taking in his tragedy, the third metre, upon Hercules, where he begins in *aladis oculis*’.

Here, *exsampyl* combines with the preposition *be* (*by*) instead of *for*. The relevance of this example lies in the fact that it is dated earlier than any combination of *for* + *example* used as an EM in the corpora (although instances of *for example* as an EM are provided by the *OED* since the 14th century, as seen in Section 6.1.2 above), which

indicates that *example* could combine with prepositions other than *for* in the earliest stages of its process of grammaticalisation. In this instance, *be exsampyl* comes in P2 and links two sentences.

The ME material also provides instances of other obsolete EMs which contain the noun *example*, in particular *ensample* (see (7.25)) and *ensample as thus* (cf. (7.26) to (7.28)).[65]

(7.25) […] fro cauda til she come mid wey (in medio) by twix capud & cauda & fro thennes is she meridional assending til she come agayn at capud (1391 .17. decembris) **Ensample** my mone was .12. g^{a} .21. mi^{a} of virgo & caput was 4 g^{a} 46 mi^{a} of aries […]. (*HC*, c1392.cmequato)

'[…] from Cauda until mid-way (in medio) between Caput and Cauda [it is south descending],[66] and from there it is meridional [south] ascending until it returns to Caput (December 17th, 1391). For example, my moon was 12. g^{a} .21. mi^{a} of Virgo and Caput was 4 g^{a} 46 mi^{a} of Aries'.[67]

(7.26) And whan thou hast set the degre of thy sonne upon as many almykanteras of height as was the altitude of the sonne taken by thy rule, ley over thi label upon the degre of the sonne; and than wol the point of thi labell sitte in the bordure upon the verrey tyde of the day. **Ensample as thus**: The yeer of oure lord 1391, the 12 day of March, I wolde knowe the tyde of the day. (*HC*, 1391.cmastro)

'And when you have set the altitude of the sun on the almucantar corresponding to the sun's altitude measured with the alidade, place the label over the Sun's longitude and the tip of the label will point to the time of day on the border. For example: the year of our Lord 1391, on March 12th, I would know the tide of the day'.

(7.27) Understond wel that evermo, fro the arisyng of the sonne til it go to reste, the nadir of the sonne shal shewe the houre of the planete; and fro that tyme forward al the night til the sonne arise, than shal the verrey degre of the sonne shewe the houre of the planete. **Ensample as thus**: The xiij day of March fyl upon a Saturday, peraventure, and atte risyng of the sonne I fond the secunde degre of Aries sittyng upon myn est orisonte, all be it that it was but litel. (*HC*, 1391.cmastro)

[65] For a full list of EMs which were available in English in previous stages, see Section 6.2 above.

[66] The information given in square brackets is essential to the sense.

[67] Serpens Caput ('serpent's head') and Serpens Cauda ('serpent's tail') are the two parts into which Serpens Constellation is divided (information taken from <http://www.constellation-guide.com/constellation-list/serpens-constellation/>).

> 'Understand well that evermore, from the sunrise till the sunset, the nadir [lowest point] of the sun shall show the hour of the planet; and from that time forward all the night till the sun rises, then shall the very degree of the sun show the hour of the planet. For example: on March, Saturday 13th, by chance, at the sunrise I found the second degree of Aries sitting upon the horizon, albeit it was but little'.

(7.28) Rekne and knowe which is the day of thy month, and ley thy rewle upon that same day, and than wol the verrey poynt of thy rewle sitten in the bordure upon the degre of thy sonne. **Ensample as thus**: The yeer of oure Lord 1391, the 12 day of March at midday, I wolde knowe the degre of the sonne. (*HC*, 1391.cmastro)

> 'Reckon and know which is the day of the month, and lay the rule upon that same day, and then the very point of the rule will sit in the border upon the degree of the sun. For example, the year or our Lord 1391, on March 12th, I will know the degree of the sun'.

These instances date from the last decade of the 14th century and in all of them the EM comes in P1 and links sentences. Interestingly, examples (7.26) to (7.28) belong to the same text, *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, by Geoffrey Chaucer and they have exactly the same structure: *ensample as thus* opens a sentence and is followed by a colon and then by the EE. It might be the case, therefore, that the use of this phrase as an EM responds to the author's style rather than to a trend at the time. As was the case with the phrase *be exsampyl*, instances with *ensample* and *ensample as thus* as EMs are older than the earliest occurrences of *for example* in my corpus material.

In my EModE data, the noun *example* occurs 81 times. The range of spellings available for this word in the Middle Ages is now reduced to four forms: *example*, *exaumple*, *exa~ple*[68] and *ensample*. In 15 (NF 19.20) of these 81 occurrences, *example* combines with the preposition *for* and the phrase functions as an EM. Example (7.29) below, which dates from 1551, is the earliest occurrence of the combination *for example* used as an EM in the corpora.

[68] In the *HC*, abbreviations are represented with the symbol ~ replacing the omitted character. Therefore, *exa~ple* stands for *example*.

(7.29) *The line A.B. is deuided in C. into twoo partes, though not equally, of which two partes for an example I take the first, that is A.C, and of it I make* one side of a square, **as for example** D.G. *accomptinge those two lines to be equall, the other side of the square is D.E, whiche is equall to the whole line A.B.* (*HC*, 1551.cescie1b)

In this instance, *for example* follows *as*. Given that evidence from the *OED* indicates that *as* has been used as an EM since the early 13th century,[69] we might interpret that *as* is added here in order to reinforce *for example*, possibly in an attempt to make clear the exemplifying function of this emerging EM. Interestingly, the corpus data provide up to nine instances of the pleonastic marker *as for example* in the EModE period, which represents 60% of the occurrences of the EM *for example*. Note that in (7.29), the construction *for an example* is also found. At first sight, we could think that this is a non-grammaticalised use of the EM *for example* where the indefinite article intervenes between the preposition *for* and the noun *example* ('of which two parts for example/for instance I take the first one'). However, in my view this is not the actual meaning of the construction, but rather 'of which two parts I take the first one as an example'. As for position, in all its EModE occurrences *for example* comes in P1.

The corpus data provide another instance which shows that the EM *for example* was not fully grammaticalised in the EModE period. In (7.30) below, *for example* can have a double reading.

(7.30) *Nether mynd I now to speake of that every man thinkes, That wicked conditions being corrected by revenge & brought to the right way by terrour of their prison, to other men may serue* ***for example*** *to shun theyr faultes.* (*HC*, 1593.ceboeth2)

[69] As seen in Section 6.1.8 above, the earliest example of the EM *as* attested in the *OED* dates from a1225.

> 'Neither mind I now to speak about what every man thinks of, that wicked conditions being corrected by revenge and brought to the right way by fear of punishment, to other men may serve as an example to avoid their faults'.

On the one hand, *for example* can be understood here as an EM in an exemplifying construction where the GE is omitted ('may serve [for many things], for example/for instance to show their faults'). Alternatively, it can also be interpreted as a complement of the verb *serve*: 'may serve as an example to show their faults'. As seen in Section 4.3 above, examples of this kind where the context allows for two interpretations (i.e. the source meaning and the target meaning) are common in processes of grammaticalisation. Heine (2002) names this stage *bridging context*, whereas in Diewald's (2002) terminology this corresponds to the *critical context*.

In EModE, no traces of obsolete EMs are attested, and *example* only combines with *for* when used as an EM. The EM *for example* seems, therefore to be fully grammaticalised at this time. It is used once, however, in the construction *for example sake*, which, as seen in Section 6.1.9 above, was quite common in the Modern period. This is given under (7.31) below.

(7.31) = (6.23) *In this kind I will giue an* ***instance*** *or two* ***for exa~ple sake****, of things that are the most obvious & familiar […].* (*HC*, 1605.ceeduc2b)

Note the use of this construction right after the noun *instance*. As seen in Section 6.1.3, *instance* was originally used as a counterexample of an explanation, that is, as an objection to disproof a general assertion. It may well be the case that in this particular occasion *instance* is used as a real example and not as counterevidence, and the expression *for example sake* is added to clarify this positive meaning.

As regards the position which *for example* occupies in the exemplifying sequence, in all the corpus instances it comes in P1 (cf. (7.32)).

(7.32) *This place in former time was very populous in such fort, that they were forced to fend their people abroad into Foreign Plantations, of which they had, and have still* some considerable, **for Example**, Milford-land, Fulwoods Rents, Baldwins-Garden, Great St. Bartholomews, the Fryers, Mountague-close, with divers others. (*ARCHER*, 1673head.f2b)

As regards the LModE period, the frequency of the EM *for example* is roughly the same as in EModE (NF 20.01), and the use of *example* in its non-EM uses is still more common (NF 68.59). At this stage, the pleonastic marker *as for example* becomes much less frequent, as it only occurs once in the data. P1 is still the preferred position for this marker in the exemplifying sequence (seven occurrences, 50% of the total). An illustration of the use of the EM in P1 is given under (7.33), where the EM opens a new sentence. P2, as exemplified in (7.34) and (7.35), is the second most common position for this EM (six examples, 42.86%), whereas P3 is marginal (one isolated instance, 7.14%; see (7.36)).

(7.33) But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. **For example**, if I can be sure of saving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preserve him from being undone without ruining myself, or recover his reputation without blasting mine; all this I am obliged to do: and, if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself. (*ARCHER*, 1724swif.h3b)

(7.34) So that if an artery, from the beginning of its rise to its ramification into branches, happen to be very short, it will commonly be found wider, and have a greater proportion to its branches than our theory would require. Thus, **for example**, the great trunk of the right subclavian, before it divides into the carotid and axillary, is sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter. (*ARCHER*, 1735mart.m3b)

(7.35) As before stated, the most important factor bearing upon the birth rate is the age at which marriage is contracted. While data bearing upon this subject in this country are scarce, still such data as are available show clearly that the average age at which marriage is contracted is constantly advancing. In

Massachusetts, **for example**, the average age of women marrying for the first time has increased during fifteen years from 23.4, in 1872, to 24.4, in 1887. (*ARCHER*, 1891holl.s6a)

(7.36) = (7.3) The animal juices, the blood **for example**, *freeze at 25°*. (*ARCHER*, 1775hunt.s4b)

The frequency of the EM *for example* increases in the 20th century, when it occurs in 22 cases in the material (NF 59.99), in none of them in combination with *as*. The use of the EM is more common now than the use of *example* its non-EM function (NF 38.18); in other words, the target meaning has now become more common than the source meaning. The most frequent position for this marker is P1 (14 examples, 63.64% of the total; see (7.37)), followed by P2 (six examples, 27.27%; see (7.38)) and P3 (only two occurrences, 9.09%; see (7.39)).

(7.37) *It doesn't seem to be running now, especially with surprise being expressed by* Washington correspondents, **for example** the authoritative voice of Henry Brandon in the Sunday Times today. (*ARCHER*, 1961evan.j8b)

(7.38) Indeed, it is felt that the colony's leadership, with its essentially Western European outlook, will never be able to take the type of harsh preventative action that would be necessary to shock and deter the future refugee flow. Scarcely troubled. Singapore, **for example**, is scarcely troubled by the problem because the Lee Kuan Government has all along been uncompromising in its refusal to accept refugees. (*ARCHER*, 1979stm2.n8b)

(7.39) "*Have you* any other dressing-gown, *Mademoiselle?* A scarlet dressing-gown, **for example**?" (*ARCHER*, 1934chri.f7b)

Let us focus now on the types of syntactic forms which are linked by means of *for example* in the corpus data. Table 11 compares the different syntactic forms in the GE and in the EE at four points in time, namely ME, EModE, LModE and the 20th century.

Table 11. Diachronic development of the syntactic forms in the GE and the EE in constructions with *for example* as EM

	ME	**EModE**					**LModE**					**20th century**				
GE / EE	S	NP	PP	S	C	Ø[70]	NP	PP	S	C	Ø	NP	PP	S	C	Ø
NP	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	3
PP	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
VP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
S	1	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
C	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	5

As the table shows, the same type of units tends to be used as GE and EE in the same construction. As seen in Section 2.2.2.4 above, Quirk *et al*. (1985) denominate *strict apposition* structures like these where the anchor and the appositive have the same syntactic form, whereas the term *weak apposition* refers to constructions with units from different syntactic classes. If we apply this terminology to exemplification, we can conclude that the great majority of constructions with *for example* as EM are cases of strict exemplification: in my data, exemplification is strict in about 90% of the total number of examples per period (disregarding those cases where the GE is omitted), reaching 100% in both ME (when *for example –by example–* occurs only once) and LModE. From a diachronic perspective, sentences have always been the most common type of units in exemplifying constructions with *for example* (from six to nine examples per period except in ME; cf. (7.40) below). Occasionally, *for example* links NPs (cf. (7.36) and (7.37) above) and PPs (cf. (7.41)). Besides, the omission of the GE,

[70] Ø stands for 'elided GE'.

illustrated in (7.42)-(7.44), is scarce during EModE and LModE (it occurs only twice in each period), but it becomes more common in the 20th century (11 examples).

(7.40) Djevad Bey, however, takes a different view: he does not think they have fled on account of their religion, but because they had already experienced ill-treatment from the Russians, who desire to rid their territories of Mussulmans, and that most of them are people of substance who will bring sufficient means of subsistence. **For example**, in Bulgaria, where the Russians encouraged barbarous treatment of the Turkish population, <(sic)> makes it probable enough that these fugitives have good reason for quitting Russian territory; but the sympathy they would otherwise be entitled to is very much diminished by the fact that the Turks have for ages maltreated their Christian fellow-subjects, and made their own predominance felt in the most galling way. (*ARCHER*, 1880haml.j6b)

(7.41) *Place the instrument* between any number of steady lights whose intensities are known, **as for example**, between four wax candles opposite one end, and one candle opposite the other, *and move the photometer till the fluid remain stationary at the division where it formerly stood, and it will be found that the distances are directly as the square roots of the number of candles*. (*ARCHER*, 1825pond.s5b)

(7.42) *The inviscid description of such a flow can be found*, **for example** in Lamb. (*ARCHER*, 1975crap.s8b)

(7.43) *The pollen may*, **for example**, lack genetic information on the pistil's osmotic pressure, cutin or waxy layers of the epidermis, length, and on one or more of its many other physiological, biochemical or structural characters, depending on the direction and degree of tht<sic> evolutionary divergence. (*ARCHER*, 1975hoge.s8b)

(7.44) *In the case of the London Clay it could reasonably have been held that the pore water had failed in tension, since the inferred tensile stress in the pore water was above any value obtained by direct experimental measurement (see*, **for example**, Temperley & Chambers 1946; Temperley 1946*) although below the theoretical value of tensile strength*. (*ARCHER*, 1975bish.s8b)

The type of syntactic form used in an exemplifying construction has a direct incidence on the syntactic function realised by the exemplifying sequence. As a consequence, given that most of the constructions with *for example* in the corpora consist of two sentences, those constructions tend to operate at a supra-sentential level, the level of discourse. Although I am aware of the problematic or controversial use of this term, I use here the label *discursive function* to describe this type of function carried

out by two or more sentences interrelated by *for example* or *for instance*. The discursive function of *for example* is illustrated in (7.40) above. Yet, although much less frequently, other syntactic functions such as CP (cf. (7.37)), subject (cf. (7.36) above), place adjunct (cf. (7.41) and (7.42)), predicate (cf. (7.43)) or DO (cf. (7.44)) are also found.

In Section 5.1 above I defended the use of the *OED* as a source of evidence in order to complement the corpus data used for the historical analysis in this dissertation. I also pointed at the adequacy of using the *MED* and the *CMEPV* with the same aim. For this reason, I checked these materials in order to retrieve interesting examples of *for example* before this phrase was grammaticalised as an EM. Before closing this section, I will consider one of these instances due to its extremely unusual structure:

(7.45) And this ys a general rwle, that yff a lyne be ryght depe and wele colouryd, yt sygnyfyith gode dysposycion off that membyr to the qwyche yt ys corespondent; **by opyn exsampyl as thus**: The lyne the qwyche gothe about the thombe longyth to the hert; than yff this lyne be wele colouryd, ryght and deppe, yt sygnyffyith goode dysposycion off the hert. And yff yt be the contrary, yt sygnyfyith euyl dysposycion off the hert. Thus off alle odyr. (*CMEPV*, c1450, Works of John Metham (Amoryus and Cleopes, &c.))

'And this is a general rule, that if a line is very deep and well coloured, it signifies good disposition of that member to which it corresponds; for open example as thus: the line which goes about the thumb refers to the heart; then if this line is well coloured, right and deep, it signifies good disposition of the heart. And if it is the contrary, it signifies evil disposition of the heart. Thus of all other'.

This example shows a number of relevant characteristics. First, the noun *exsampyl* does not combine with the preposition *for* but with *by*, as in (7.24) above.[71] Second, the adjective *opyn* (*open*) is inserted between the preposition and the noun. Finally, the expression *as thus* follows the noun *exsampyl*, which, as seen in Section 6.2.2 above,

[71] As a matter of fact, both examples belong to the same text.

was one of the earliest formulas in which the noun *example* was used as an EM. In other words, in (7.45) *exsampyl* seems to be part of two EMs at the same time: *by exsampyl* (*for example*) and *exsampyl as thus*. An instance with these characteristics was only possible in the Middle Ages, when *for example* was not fully grammaticalised as an EM yet and other EMs with the noun *example* were common.

7.2.1.4. For instance

In the medieval period, there are no traces of the EM *for instance*, although the noun *instance* is already recorded three times in the data (NF 4.61). The EM *for instance* occurs for the first time in EModE (see (7.46) below), in 1665 to be precise, though its use remains sporadic at the time (NF 6.40). Along similar lines, its non-EM use is not very common either (NF 25.60). In its first occurrence, *for instance* combines with the form *as*. One important aspect makes the combination *as for instance* in (7.46) and the combinations *as for example* seen in Section 7.2.1.3 above different: the position of the pleonastic marker in the sequence. Whereas the EE always appears in the corpus data after the combination *as for example* (cf. (7.29) above), the EE intervenes between *as* and *for instance* in this particular case. As for the position of *for instance* in the sequence, in two out of five examples the EM appears in P1 (40% of the total; see (7.47)), on two occasions in P3 (40% of the total; see (7.46)) and just once in P2 (20%; cf. (7.48)).

(7.46) *Since we have nothing more difficult in this Hypothesis to conceive, first, as to the kindling of Tinder, then how a large Iron-bullet, let fall red or glowing hot upon a heap of Small-coal, should set fire to those that are next to it first: Nor secondly, is this last more difficult to be explicated, then that* a Body, **as** Silver **for Instance**, *put into a weak Menstruum, as unrectified Aqua fortis should, when it is put in a great heat, be there dissolved by it, and not before […].* (*HC*, 1665.cescie3a)

(7.47) Moreoever<sic>, the following Experiments upon this matter, do seem to give proof of its being rather of the ordinary Stony Constitution, than of that which is proper to Animal Concretions. **For Instance**, we first of all poured upon it ordinary Vinegar, and it presently wrought upon it with a hissing noise, as it did on the petrified Water when powder'd. (*ARCHER*, 1685slar.m2b)

(7.48) And this brings to my mind, that it has been observed, that Diamonds draw better whilst rough, than they do after they are cut and polish'd; which seeming to contradict what has been observed by others and by us also, that Amber, **for instance**, attracts more vigorously if the surface be made very smooth than otherwise […] (*HC*, 1675-1676.cescie3b)

The frequency of the noun *instance* as part of the EM *for instance* increases in the LModE period, although its use as a noun outside this EM is still more common (NF 27.15 for the EM *for instance* vs. 71.45 for the non-EM use of *instance*). As a matter of fact, non-grammaticalised constructions including the noun *instance* are very common at the time. Particularly relevant are the following examples:

(7.49) *Now, by some Passages in History, it may probably be conjectured, when those Shoe Soles were left there, and how long it may be since that Atterration*<sic>*, that makes the present Country, began. Take an* ***Instance*** *or two. In Stow's Chronicle, ad An. 1465. we read of a Proclamation against the Beaks or Pikes of Shoone, or Boots, that they should not pass two Inches upon the Penalties there mentioned. And by other Passages in History it appears, that those Pikes of Shoes were before that time exceeding long, and held up by Chains, that they might not hinder the Wearers going; which Chains or Ligaments were sometimes of Silver, if not of Gold, that they might be rich, as well as ornamental. The other* ***Instance*** *is this. In Melchior Adamus's Life of Conrad Pellican, at the Bottom of Page 263, in the Octavo Edition, there is this Passage*. (*ARCHER*, 1723thor.s3b)

(7.50) *These are discoveries Meditation will always manifest, and it is exceedingly remarkable, that we remember with more Satisfaction the Difficulties we have overcome, than our Pleasures are past. I call to mind an* ***Instance*** *of this in a Lady you inquired after the last Time I was happy in your Conversation. Belinda, whom you commended for the best bred, and best natur'd Woman you ever saw, is that* ***Instance***. (*ARCHER*, 1740camp.f3b)

In these two examples, the noun *instance* is used twice in periphrastic constructions where it functions as DO (*take* + *instance* in (7.49) and *call to mind* + *instance* in (7.50)), subject (*the other instance is this* in (7.49)) and SPC (*is that instance* in (7.50))

of the verb *be*. These examples are in line with Paquot's (2008) observation that non-formulaic constructions containing nouns such as *example* or *instance* were particularly common to introduce examples in earlier English (cf. Section 3.2 above), and illustrate the tendency in my historical data to use this form in its non-EM function rather than as an EM.

LModE is the only period when the EM *for instance* is more common than the EM *for example* in my data (NF 27.15 vs. NF 20.01, respectively). Probably, *for instance* predominates over *for example* at this stage because it had not acquired yet the informal character which it has at present.[72] In accordance with the tendency followed by other EMs in their early occurrences (especially by the EM *for example*; cf. Section 7.2.1.3 above), the EM *for instance* combines four times with the form *as* in my LModE data. As regards the position of *for instance* in the exemplifying sequence, it is more frequent in P1 (10 examples, 52.63%; cf. (7.51)), followed by P3 (five examples, 26.32%; cf. (7.52)) and P2 (four examples, 21.05%; cf. (7.53)).

(7.51) Any one, or two, or all of these circumstances might occasion the noted difference in the clock's errors. **For instance**, the clock being before sidereal time, its error from [alpha] Cygni was found to be less than from [alpha] Aquilae. (*ARCHER*, 1825wood.s5b)

(7.52) *Well, you'll admit I always tell you when I have done anything of that kind. I know I can't hammer you as you ought to be hammered, so I giave*<sic> *the job to* another. Young Maclagan, **for instance**. (*ARCHER*, 1899kipl.f6b)

(7.53) A life spent amidst holy things may be intensely secular; a life, the most of which is passed in the thick and throng of the world, may be holy and divine. A minister, **for instance**, preaching, praying, ever speaking holy words and performing sacred acts, may be all the while doing actions no more holy than those of the printer who prints Bibles, or of the bookseller who sells them; for, in both cases alike, the whole affair may be nothing more than a trade. (*ARCHER*, 1857cair.h6b)

[72] See Chapter 8 below for more information on the use of *for instance* in PDE.

Finally, the use of *for instance* as an EM slightly decreases in the 20th century (NF 21.82), and so does the use of *instance* in its non-EM function (NF 40.90). As an EN, it occurs four times in P1 (see (7.54)) and four times in P2 (see (7.55)).

(7.54) *I'm tellin' you, there's* different asylums; **for instance**, a deaf an' dumb asylum! (*ARCHER*, 1955ocsy.d8b)

(7.55) Yet there is not wanting considerable astronomical authority for placing the two methods on a level, the one with the other. Baron de ZACH, **for instance**, views each as an equally good method. (*ARCHER*, 1825wood.s5b)

Concerning the syntactic forms which appear in exemplifying constructions with *for instance*, sentences and, to a lesser extent, NPs take the lead. Table 12 shows the diachronic development of these constructions.

Table 12. Diachronic development of the syntactic forms in the GE and the EE in constructions with *for instance* as EM

	EModE						**LModE**						**20th century**					
GE / EE	NP	PP	AdvP	S	C	Ø	NP	PP	AdvP	S	C	Ø	NP	PP	AdvP	S	C	Ø
NP	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
PP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
VP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
AdvP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1
C	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The use of sentences in either the GE or the EE is not very common in EModE (only one example has been recorded in the *HC* material), but they become the most frequent option in the two following periods (see (7.56) below for an example of a sentential

construction). NPs are also rather common, their use increasing in LModE (cf. (7.57)). Other syntactic forms, such as PPs (cf. (7.58)), also occur, though only rarely. In turn, the omission of the GE (illustrated in (7.59) and (7.60)) is the preferred option in EModE (three examples out of five; 60%), but it then becomes a marginal choice (three examples out of 19 in LModE; 15.79%, and two out of eight in the 20th century; 25%). In short, the data show that *for instance* used to link a wider variety of syntactic forms in LModE than in the 20th century. Note also that all the examples where *for instance* is the marker are cases of strict exemplification, except for the LModE period, where weak exemplification occurs in 12.5% of the total of the relevant examples.

(7.56) A life spent amidst holy things may be intensely secular; a life, the most of which is passed in the thick and throng of the world, may be holy and divine. A minister, **for instance**, preaching, praying, ever speaking holy words and performing sacred acts, may be all the while doing actions no more holy than those of the printer who prints Bibles, or of the bookseller who sells them; for, in both cases alike, the whole affair may be nothing more than a trade. (*ARCHER*, 1857cair.h6b)

(7.57) *There's no dependence upon them; no, no, you must look to* those who are a little older, who are grown steady, and know what they are about. A man about my age, **for instance**. (*ARCHER*, 1819beaz.d5b)

(7.58) *The different modes of decrement are expressed by means of different arbitrary symbols; and these are combined in a manner which* in some cases, **as for instance** in that of intermediary decrements, *is quite devoid both of simplicity and of uniformity, and indeed, it may be added, of precision*. (*ARCHER*, 1824home.s5b)

(7.59) *The line of collimation can be adjusted by means of a small object in, or near to, the horizon. In this operation a small defect in the horizontality of the axis will have scarcely any effect on the accuracy of the operation. If the mark should*, **for instance**, be 2° above the horizon, and one end of the axis 5" higher than the other, *the error in collimating from that cause would, in the latitude of Cambridge, be only 0".1075*. (*ARCHER*, 1825wood.s5b)

(7.60) *I never thought the land could look so like the sea. In many places –just* now **for instance**– *the horizon is absolutely level*. (*ARCHER*, 1872hart.j6b)

As regards function, the so-called discursive function (see above) is the only one which is recurrent with *for instance* in the corpus material. Other functions, such as

predicate (7.59) and different types of adjuncts (such as time adjunct in (7.60)), among others, are only sporadic.

While none of the corpus examples where *for instance* is used as an EM would be ungrammatical in PDE, the *OED* provides some instances from EModE and LModE which would not be possible nowadays, since they show non-grammaticalised forms of the marker. These are given below:

(7.61) = (6.25) This is the man who would have his device alwayes in his sermons, which in Oxford they then called conundrums. **For an instance** Now all House is turned into an Alehouse, and a pair of dice is made a Paradice, was it thus in the days of Noah? Ah no! (*OED*, s.v. *conundrum* n., 1645, *Kingdom's Weekly Post* 16 Dec. 76)

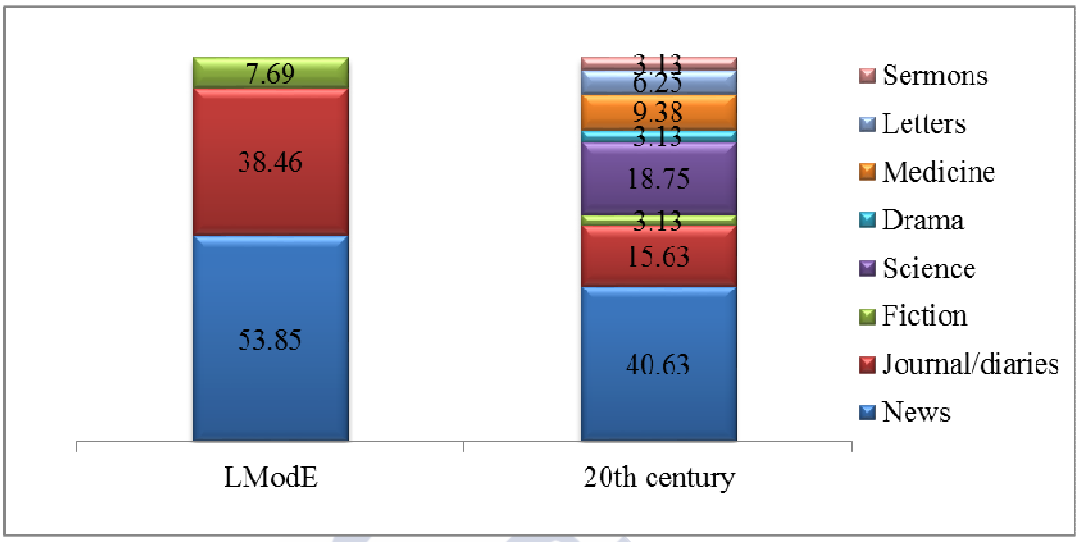
(7.62) **For pregnant instance**, let us contemplate The luck of Leonardus, –see at large Of Sicily's Decisions sixty-first. (*OED*, s.v. *see* v., 1869, R. Browning *Ring & Bk.* III. viii. 128)

In example (7.61), the indefinite article *an* occurs between the preposition *for* and the noun *instance*. Similarly, in (7.62) the intervening element is the adjective *pregnant*, used here with the meaning 'compelling, cogent, convincing; clear, obvious' (*OED*, s.v. *pregnant* adj.[2]). The insertion of linguistic material as a form of the article or an adjective between *for* and *instance* is no longer possible in PDE.

7.2.2. Textual distribution of exemplifying constructions across time

The types of text where exemplifying constructions are used may provide interesting insights into the historical development of the selected EMs. In what follows, the diachronic development of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* is discussed taking the textual variable into consideration. In the figures, the data are given in percentages.

Figure 4. *Including* in different text-types across time[73]



The bar charts in Figure 4 show that *including* is especially common in news. The frequent use of *including* in journalistic texts may be motivated by the kind of elements which, as seen above (cf. Section 6.1.1), this marker normally links, that is, short and concise NPs. This is related to the preference of news for the condensation of information in few words.[74] Journals and diaries, as well as science in the 20th century, also make a rather frequent use of exemplification with this marker.

As far as exemplification with *included* is concerned, as mentioned in Section 7.2.1.2 above, only four examples were found with this form, one in EModE and three in LModE, which does not allow to draw any conclusions as regards the use of this marker in different text-types. However, it must be noted that two of the examples recorded with this EM occur in news. This seems to indicate that both *including* and

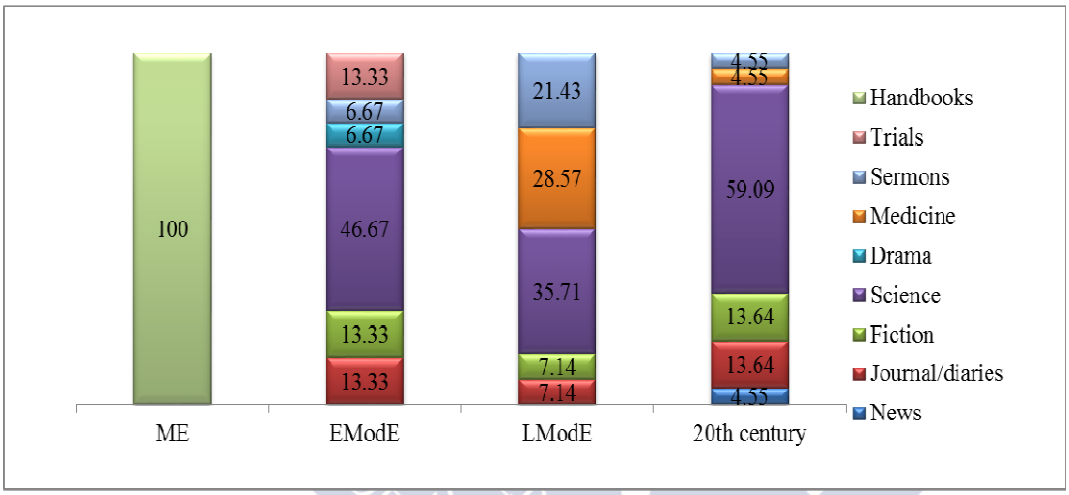
[73] For the textual analysis I have respected the division science vs. medicine followed in both the *HC* and *ARCHER*. However, it should be noted that similarities between these two text-types are remarkable.

[74] A thorough textual analysis of exemplifying constructions in PDE is carried out in Section 8.7 below, where the factors which favour the use of some markers in certain text-types are explained in depth.

included fit into the kind of structures which characterise the journalistic genre. As for the other two instances, they are attested in journals/diaries.

Let us move on now to exemplification with *for example*. Figure 5 shows the diachronic development of these constructions.

Figure 5. *For example* in different text-types across time

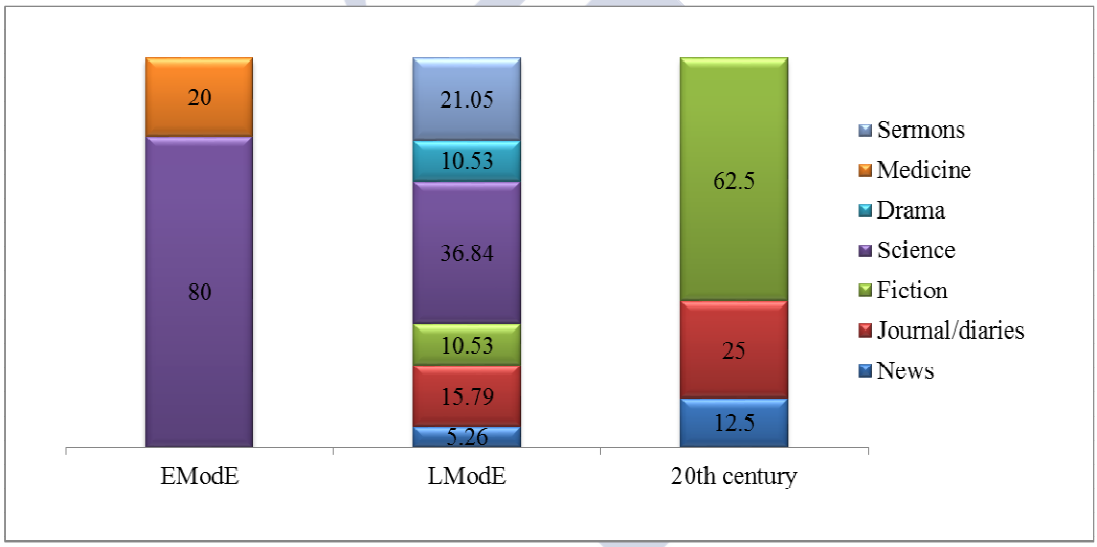


As the figure shows, the use of *for example* in news is extremely rare (only one instance in the 20th century; 4.55% of the total), which, as seen above, is the most popular text-type for exemplifying constructions with *including*. By contrast, the EM *for example* is very common in scientific texts in all the periods analysed. Again, the syntactic forms of the units linked by this marker may help explain why these constructions are so common in science. Scientific texts are characterised by the use of a difficult and technical kind of language. As a consequence, examples are necessary in order to make the text easier for the reader. Given that the EEs introduced by *for example* are in most cases sentences, the use of the EM constitutes a useful device for the writer to explain the long theoretical expositions so characteristic of scientific texts (cf. Section 8.7 below). Exemplification with *for example* in other text-types is less recurrent. As a

matter of fact, a higher use of this marker in sermons could, in principle, be expected taking into account the potential relation between the noun *example* and the medieval genre of the *exemplum* considered in Section 6.1.2 above. Nevertheless, the scarce use of *for example* in texts of this kind does not seem to corrobate the existence of such relation.

Finally, the historical development of *for instance* in the different text-types in the corpora is of undeniable interest, as shown in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6. *For instance* in different text-types across time



During EModE and LModE, science shows a noticeable use of exemplification with *for instance*, while no traces of this form are found in scientific texts from the 20th century. In turn, while no occurrences of *for instance* are found in fictional texts from the EModE period in both the *HC* and *ARCHER*, it is precisely this genre that shows the highest number of exemplifying structures with *for instance* in the 20th century material. These data corroborate the information given in Section 6.1.3 above on the informal character which *for instance* has acquired in the contemporary language, where this EM

seems to have restricted its use to informal text-types, such as fiction (five examples; 62.5%), journals/diaries (two examples; 25%) and news (one example; 12.5%).

As shown above, a general tendency has been observed for our markers to occur in formal text-types, though different kinds of types favour the use of different EMs. Thus, whereas *including* is very common in news, *for example* prevails in scientific documents, and so does *for instance* until the 20th century, when it acquires a more informal status and becomes more popular in informal text-types, in particular in fiction. My results do not coincide, therefore, with Kortmann's (1991: 2) and Acuña-Fariña's (1996: 124) conclusion that appositional constructions are more common in less formal text-types (cf. Section 2.2.1.2 above). This seems to be one further difference between prototypical and non-prototypical appositional constructions: central cases of apposition are popular in informal types of text, but more marginal types of apposition like the one under study here (exemplification) are preferred in formal text-types.

7.3. Conclusions

In this section we have looked at the evolution of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* from their earliest occurrences in the history of English until the late 20th century, paying attention to the process of grammaticalisation which these forms have undergone across time. For this purpose, the *HC* and *ARCHER* have been used. These two corpora provided a total of 464 occurrences of *including*, *including*, *example* and *instance*, 133 of which correspond to the use of these forms as EMs (28.73% of the total).

As expected, the source meanings of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* are recorded in the material analysed before their target meanings (cf. Section 7.2.1). The first EM found in my data is *for example*, although with an unexpected form: the preposition *by* (and not *for*) combines with *example* in its earliest occurrence, an example which dates back to c.1450. The combination of *example* with prepositions other than *for* was only possible in the earliest stages of the process of grammaticalisation of this marker. One century later, in 1551, the first genuine occurrence of *for example* in the material is attested. Examples of *for instance* are found in the second half of the 17th century (the earliest example of this EM I have been able to trace in my corpus material dates from 1665). As for *included*, it is first used in the corpora in 1704, four decades before its earliest occurrence in the *OED*. Finally, the last EM to occur in my data is *including*, which is first attested in 1752. The competition between the source and the target meanings of the selected markers shows that the exemplifying function of *including* and *for example* increases in frequency across time until the 20th century, when their use as EMs is more common than their source meanings. The opposite stands for *for instance* and *included*, whose non-EM uses are preferred over their exemplifying uses in all subperiods analysed. It should be noted that in no case the evolution of the target meanings of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* results in the disappearance of their source meanings, thus showing Hopper's (1991: 22) persistence (cf. Section 4.2.1.1 above).

The analysis in Section 7.2.1 shows that *included* has never been common as an EM, whereas *including*, which is the last EM to be found in my data, is now the most frequent of the selected markers, followed by *for example*. In the LModE period, *for instance* is more common than *for example*, probably because the former had not

acquired yet the informal character which it has at present. As regards position, *for example* and *for instance* can occur in P1, P2 and P3. That is, during their process of grammaticalisation, they have not become associated to any fixed position. On the contrary, position is precisely the main difference between *including* and *included*: *including* invariably occurs in P1, while *included* always appears in P3.

As regards the syntactic form of the units in exemplification, *included* and *including* have always linked nominal elements, which function as subjects, DOs, CPs and SPCs. In turn, *for example* has always shown a tendency to link sentences. As a consequence, most exemplifying constructions where this form occurs have a discursive function. It has also been shown that the omission of the GE with this marker is relatively common in the 20th century. Finally, in EModE *for instance* was typically used in nominal exemplifying constructions (i.e. it used to link NPs), but it is now more common in constructions whose GE and EE are sentences. The omission of the GE with *for instance* is fairly common in EModE and LModE, but it has been considerably reduced in the present day.

Concerning the textual distribution of the four EMs under analysis, the data show that they are more frequent in formal text-types (cf. Section 7.2.2). In news, *including* is very common as it introduces short and concise units in which information is packed, whereas science shows a tendency to use long and complex elements linked by *for example*, which work as illustrations of previous theoretical explanations. In the modern period, the use of *for instance* in formal text-types is widespread, while it is practically non-existent in the 20th century material.

One of the main aims of this chapter was to illustrate the process of grammaticalisation which *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* have undergone to become EMs. To this end, I have complemented the data from the *HC* and *ARCHER* with examples from the *OED*, the *MED* and the *CMEPV*. While none of the materials consulted have provided interesting examples with *including* or *included*, some revealing instances were found with *for example* and *for instance*. The noun *example* is used once in combination with the preposition *by* instead of *for*, and in another case it appears in the expression *by opyn exsampyl as thus*, an extremely unusual combination where two EMs involving the noun *example* (*by example* and *example as thus*) seem to merge. In addition, this instance also shows the adjective *open* between the preposition *by* and the noun *example*. As regards *for instance*, linguistic material also intervenes between the preposition and the noun in two examples from the *OED* (*for an instance* and *for pregnant instance*). None of these patterns are possible in the contemporary language, but they were common in the early stages of the process of grammaticalisation of both *for example* and *for instance*. Finally, both *for example* and *for instance* are reinforced by *as* in several of their earliest occurrences.

8. *INCLUDING*, *INCLUDED*, *FOR EXAMPLE* AND *FOR INSTANCE* IN PDE

The present chapter provides an in-depth analysis of exemplifying constructions with *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as EMs in Present-day British and American English. Before the detailed examination of these forms in the corpora, I discuss those examples whose classification was somewhat problematic, adducing reasons for their inclusion in or exclusion from the analysis (cf. Section 8.1). Some considerations on the general development of the four EMs in BrE and AmE from the 1960s to the 2000s follow (cf. Section 8.2.1). In turn, the different combinations of EMs found in the corpora are discussed in Section 8.2.2. Section 8.3 deals with the arrangement of the elements in the exemplifying sequence. The different syntactic forms which the GE and the EE may take are the focus of Section 8.4, whereas the various syntactic functions which they realise are analysed in Section 8.5. Additional formal aspects are considered in Section 8.6, among them the punctuation used with each marker (cf. Section 8.6.1) and, closely connected with it, the use of integrated constructions with *including* (cf. Section 8.6.2). Finally, the distribution of exemplifying constructions according to text-type is examined in Section 8.7. A summary of the main issues considered in the analysis closes the chapter (see Section 8.8).

8.1. Establishing limits: What is an EM?

The data used for the analysis of exemplifying constructions in PDE provide a total of 4,636 instances of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance*, 64.36% of which (i.e.

2,984 cases) correspond to the use of these forms as EMs. In general terms, the distinction between the exemplifying function of these items and their non-exemplifying use is relatively simple. There are, however, a number of examples with *including* and *included* where such distinction is not so straightforward. At first sight, some of these instances resemble exemplifying constructions, but on closer inspection they prove to be something different. On other occasions, the constructions are indeed exemplifying but show unexpected characteristics. Let us examine these problematic examples in detail.

In some corpus occurrences, *including* and *included* are reinforced by certain expressions by means of which the speaker/writer makes himself/herself visible in the text. On occasion, these expressions are discourse markers, but other types of elements which convey the speaker's point of view are also possible. Following Traugott's (2010) terminology, in this dissertation I refer to all these expressions as *subjectivity markers*. In 18 of these combinations the EM is *including*, while *included* is found only once in such a pattern. The full list of combinations of *including* and *included* with subjectivity markers found in the corpus data is the following:

including (presumably)
including of course
including at least
including disconcertingly
including –most notably–
including, I hope,
importantly including
including, memorably
including even
even including
oddly enough including
probably including
notably including
including perhaps
apparently including
possibly including at least

including especially *decidedly included*

As the list shows, the subjectivity markers can appear either before or after the EM. They can also be surrounded by pauses (i.e. they may have their own tone unit) or they can be pronounced in the same tone unit as the EE. (8.1) and (8.2) below illustrate the combinations at issue here.

(8.1) *Still, there is more to know about this authority, as there is about Talbot's unconscious part in the outrage –as there is about* every key figure in this story, the parson **decidedly included**. (*AE06*, C)

(8.2) *At the same time,* many other elements in this volume *are borrowed from Kant,* **possibly including at least** one idea attributed by Climacus to the Bible. (*FROWN*, J52 132)

In (8.1), the subjectivity marker is *decidedly*, which is more likely found in a sentence like *the parson is decidedly included in every key figure in this story*, where *included* is clearly a verbal form, than in combination with *included* as an EM. In (8.2), in turn, there are two subjectivity markers, namely *possibly* and *at least*. Instances of this kind have been considered here as exemplifying constructions because the presence of these subjectivity markers does not significantly change the meaning of the construction as a whole. Thus, in (8.1) *decidedly* only emphasises the fact that the speaker is sure that the parson is included in the group of figures in the story, whereas in (8.2) *possibly* helps the speaker to maintain a certain distance with what s/he is saying, making clear that s/he is not sure whether one idea attributed by Climacus to the Bible is included or not in the elements in the volume borrowed from Kant. In this example, the second subjectivity marker accompanying *included* has exactly the opposite effect: *at least* seems to add a nuance of certainty on the statement (cf. *OED*, s.v. *least* adj. (and n.) and adv., 5). Given that none of these subjectivity markers has a deep impact on the

meaning of the constructions where they appear, they can be omitted, the resulting construction becoming a more central case of exemplification, as shown below:

(8.1) b. *Still, there is more to know about this authority, as there is about Talbot's unconscious part in the outrage –as there is about* every key figure in this story, the parson **included**.

(8.2) b. *At the same time,* many other elements in this volume *are borrowed from Kant,* **including** one idea attributed by Climacus to the Bible.

Another type of reinforcement is illustrated in (8.3) to (8.5) below. In (8.3) and (8.4), the EM *including* is reinforced by means of a conjunction, *and* and *but*, respectively. Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 23) explain that in ME and EModE "*[a]nd* could be attached before or after some […] common apposition markers in various semantic classes […]. In these examples *and* continues the sentence and smoothly bridges the passage to the marker proper after the pitch pause". A similar function could be attributed to the conjunctions *and* and *but* in these PDE instances. In example (8.5), *including* is preceded by *up to and*. The combination *up to and including*, which is attested three times in *FLOB*, gives more emphasis to the EE.

(8.3) *In northern Israel as a result,* pollen spectra with 50% tree pollen in the Middle Miocene (**and including** such mesophytic taxa as Alnus, Corylus, Engelhardtia, Juglans, Platycarya and Pterocarya) *were replaced in the Late Miocene by spectra with almost no tree pollen, and with 'arid' indicators such as Artemisia and Chenopodiaceae prominent*. (*FLOB*, J04 86)

(8.4) *Support is also strong among* the political elite, *particularly Democrats* **but including** many Republicans *(though not many prominent officeholders).* (*FROWN*, G18 184)

(8.5) *Some readers liked what he had written. Haig read and commented upon* all the volumes **up to and including** Loos *before he died.* (*FLOB*, J56 156)

All the examples considered so far in this section where the EM is reinforced by means of a subjectivity marker or a conjunction have been accepted as cases of

exemplification in this dissertation. However, the other examples discussed in the remainder of this section have been rejected as belonging to exemplification proper, since they do not fit into the definition of the category provided in Section 3.1 above. Semantics gives us the clue to discard the first group of examples. Consider the following constructions:

(8.6) *The company offers five areas of specialisation, **including** joinery, engineering, fabrication, electrical and exterior outfit*. (*BE06*, E23)

(8.7) *The latent peer maltreatment variable was constructed from three indicators of rejecting behaviors, **including** being ignored or rebuffed by peers when attempting to interact or enter activities (via a measure of unilateral entry bids), being actively excluded from peer activities (peer exclusion), and being verbally or physically harassed (peer abuse or victimization).* (*AE06*, J)

At first sight, these examples are similar to standard exemplifying constructions. However, if we pay attention to the meanings of the GEs and EEs, we realise that these sequences do not conform to the definition of exemplification proposed in this study as a discourse strategy where the meaning of an element is explained by naming one (or more) of the items which are part of that element, but not all of them (cf. Section 3.1 above). In (8.6) and (8.7) the list of elements which constitute the GE is comprehensive, that is all the items which belong to the GE are listed: the five areas of specialisation in (8.6) and the three indicators of rejecting behaviors in (8.7). Seven such instances were found in the PDE corpora used in this study, where the use of *including* is closer to that of a marker of prototypical apposition (i.e. of equivalence) than to an EM. In these examples, the first and second units are coreferential, thus fulfilling the main characteristic of appositional constructions of equivalence (see Section 2.2.2.1 above). Examples of this kind are also attested in earlier stages of the language, as evidenced by the LModE instance in (6.7) above, repeated below as (8.8) for convenience. Probably,

this use of *including* to introduce a comprehensive list of examples has to do with its interpretation as a synonym of *comprising*, as noticed by Peters (2004: 273; see Section 6.1.1 above).

(8.8) = (6.7) *The roote of that ancient Brittaine stocke, **including** England, Scotland, and Wales, by times continuance reincorporate, and flourishing out againe in one fruitfull tree.* (*OED*, s.v. *reincorporate* adj.; 1606 B. Barnes *Foure Bks. Offices* ii. 78)

In the next group of examples to be considered, *including* is negated by means of the negative particle *not*, as in (8.9) below. The negative particle indicates that what comes next (i.e. the potential EE) is in fact not included within the GE. As a consequence, if there is no inclusion, there is no exemplification. This is the reason why instances of this kind have been excluded from the count.

(8.9) *For our present purposes we assume that the sole subject of bargaining is the basic wage rate (**not including** productivity improvement factors or cost-of-living adjustments), and it is this basic wage rate which determines the level of costs*. (*BROWN*, J41 1400)

Another group of constructions excluded from the category of exemplification in this piece of research is represented by examples (8.10) to (8.13) below. Although at first sight the meaning of *including* here may bear a resemblance to that of an EM, it actually comes closer to the other meanings of the verb *include* presented in Section 6.1.1 above. Thus, for instance, in (8.10) we cannot say that *Mexico* is an example of *North America* although it is indeed part of it. In this particular case, *including* refers to physical limits ('to enclose (in an area)', *OED*, s.v. *include* v., 1.c: the remark *including Mexico* is an explanation or clarification for the recipient of the message to know that Mexico is actually included in the supranational trading bloc of North America; otherwise the recipient would only think of the US and Canada. *Including the tributary*

channels in (8.11) serves a similar function, since such remark also refers to an inclusion within physical limits. On the other hand, in (8.12) and (8.13) *including* means 'to contain as a subordinate element, corollary, or secondary feature; to comprise virtually or by inference; to involve, imply' (*OED*, s.v. *include* v., 2.b).

(8.10) *Essentially, Sony have divided their production and market into three major supranational trading blocs –Japan and the western Pacific rim (Japan, East and South-East Asia, and Australasia), North America (**including** Mexico), and Western Europe.* (*FLOB*, J44 29)

(8.11) *In principle, the catchment area should be the area of the river channel above the point of interest (**including** the tributary channels); however, as discussed below, it was found that the area contributing to flow was often significantly greater than this.* (*BE06*, J20)

(8.12) *There is also a Lucky Dip pack, consisting of one and half metres of fabric in total, in a variety of colours and patterns, including some plains, for £7 **including** postage*. (*FLOB*, E03 150)

(8.13) *Theme is discussed very fully, with frequent references to the play itself, and **including** brief comments on all the characters.* (*LOB*, C14 120)

In examples (8.14) and (8.15) below, *including* is coordinated with a previous *–ing* form: *covering* and *starting*, respectively. The use of *including* in conjunction with to these *–ing* forms gives *including* a marked verbal content in these examples. As a consequence, I have analysed these occurrences of *including* as purely verbal forms rather than as cases of the EM.

(8.14) *Good hotels in Athens are the Grande Bretagne de luxe, on the main square, the Ambassadeurs (A), and the Alice (B). The King George de luxe, next door to the Grande Bretagne, should also be mentioned for its fine art gallery- a private collection **covering** Greek art of the nineteenth century **and including** some delightful works.* (*LOB*, E21 120)

(8.15) *The chief mark of this was the appearance of a number of dissertations and essays on the subject of 'the dignity of man', **starting** with that great obstetrician of the Renaissance, Petrarch, **and including** Gianozzo Manetti's.* (*BE06*, F19)

The last group of examples considered in this section is closely connected to the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive constructions, on the one hand, and integrated and non-integrated constructions, on the other hand.[75] The EMs under analysis in this dissertation tend to introduce non-integrated constructions, although *including* can sporadically introduce integrated ones as well (cf. Section 8.6.2 below). Nonetheless, such integrated constructions are never restrictive in meaning. If they are restrictive, they are not exemplifying constructions. This is the case of (8.16) and (8.17) below, where the units which appear after *including* delimit the meaning of the units preceding it. In (8.16) only tests which include stress application would be preferred, whereas in (8.17) only those direct products which have an identity matrix occur in the expressions specified in the predicate.

(8.16) *In developing tests for the susceptibility of this type of alloy to intercrystalline attack, Ketcham and Taylor do not mention stress-corrosion, and while their tests are no doubt of value, tests* ***including*** *stress application would be preferred.* (*LOB*, J77 93)

(8.17) *Direct products* ***including*** *an identity matrix, A @ I or I @ B, occur often in expressions for covariance matrices of data in clusters of fixed size.* (*AE06*, J)

Once we have established the boundaries between those constructions which fit into the definition of exemplification as understood in this study and those constructions which, for different reasons, do not, a total of 2,984 examples were identified in the corpora as containing an EM. Table 13 below shows the relation between the total number of occurrences of *including, included, example* and *instance* in the corpora and their actual usage as EMs. For the sake of clarity, I have divided the table into two halves taking the dialectal variable into account. The data here are presented following a

[75] The distinction between restrictive/non-restrictive and integrated/non-integrated in relation to exemplification is explained in Section 3.3.6 above.

similar distribution to that in Table 12 above, which shows the development of the four forms from ME to the present day. However, in Table 13 NFs are not provided because the number of words per corpus is the same, i.e. circa 1,000,000 words (cf. Section 5.2.3 above). The first column for each corpus indicates the total number of occurrences of *including*, *included*, *example* and *instance* regardless of their meaning and function. The second column corresponds to the number of occurrences of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. Finally, the third column contains the percentage of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as EMs in relation to their total number of occurrences in each corpus.

Generally speaking, the figures provided for each of the two varieties are remarkably similar. The data reveal that, except for *included*, all the forms are more commonly used as EMs than in any other function in both varieties in the three subperiods considered; in other words, their target meanings are now more frequent than their source meanings (cf. Section 4.2.1.1 above). The percentages are especially high for *including*. In BrE, this form is used as an EM in over 86% of its occurrences at any point in time (reaching almost 92% in *FLOB*), whereas in AmE this percentage is slightly lower: between 79% in *BROWN* and 90% in *AE06*. As regards *example*, it is used in the EM *for example* in almost 60% of its occurrences in both varieties in the 1960s, a percentage which gradually rises until the 2000s, when its exemplifying function represents about three quarters of the total number of cases. Differences between both dialectal varieties are more marked in the case of the EM *for instance*. In BrE, the use of the EM *for instance* decreases across time (in 81% of its occurrences in the 1960s the noun *instance* is part of the EM *for instance*, whereas in the 2000s this percentage declines to 77%). By

Table 13. Exemplifying vs. non-exemplifying uses of *including, included, (for) example* and *(for) instance* in present-day BrE and AmE

BrE									
	LOB			***FLOB***			***BE06***		
	Total	**EM**	**%**	**Total**	**EM**	**%**	**Total**	**EM**	**%**
Including	151	130	86.09	244	224	91.80	308	274	88.96
Included	94	1	1.06	117	3	2.56	168	3	1.79
(For) example	242	141	58.26	405	270	66.67	321	242	75.39
(For) instance	113	92	81.42	100	83	83.00	52	40	76.92
AmE									
	BROWN			***FROWN***			***AE06***		
	Total	**EM**	**%**	**Total**	**EM**	**%**	**Total**	**EM**	**%**
Including	171	135	78.95	255	218	85.49	356	322	90.45
Included	96	-	-	136	-	-	120	3	2.50
(For) example	292	173	59.25	347	243	70.03	322	233	72.36
(For) instance	82	52	63.41	65	46	70.77	79	56	70.89

contrast, in AmE the tendency is always on the increase, from 63% in the 1960s to almost 71% in the 2000s. Finally, as regards *included*, its exemplifying function constitutes less than 3% of all the occurrences of the form in any of the corpora, and it is not even recorded as an EM in either *BROWN* and *FROWN*.

In broad terms, the information given in Table 13 mostly agrees with the historical data displayed in Table 12 above. Thus, the PDE data confirm that *including* is almost exclusively used as an EM in PDE, whereas *included* is marginal in its exemplifying function. In addition, the increasing tendency of *example* to occur in the

EM *for example* already noticed in the historical data still continues at present. However, the form *instance* is nowadays more frequent in the EM *for instance* than outside this marker. This contrasts with the results of the historical study in Section 7.2.1.4, where the use of the noun *instance* outside the EM *for instance* had always been more common than its use in the exemplifying formula.

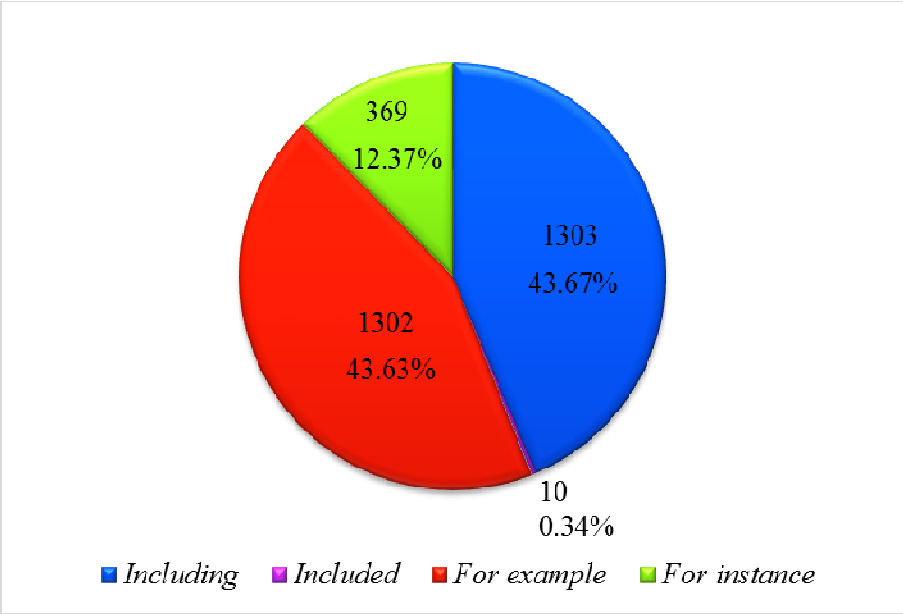
Let us proceed now to the analysis of those examples which contain *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as EMs in the six corpora.

8.2. A close-up analysis of English EMs

As mentioned in the preceding section, the total number of examples of the four selected EMs in the corpora amounts to 2,984. These are distributed as shown in Figure 7 below.

As Figure 7 shows, *including* and *for example* are clearly the preferred options in the corpora, each of them representing almost 44% of the total number of occurrences, while the use of *included* is very sporadic (only 0.34%). In what follows, the development of the four selected forms from the 1960s to the 2000s in both BrE and AmE is considered (cf. Section 8.2.1). Next, some combinations of EMs attested in the corpora are explained (cf. Section 8.2.2).

Figure 7. Total number of occurrences of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora



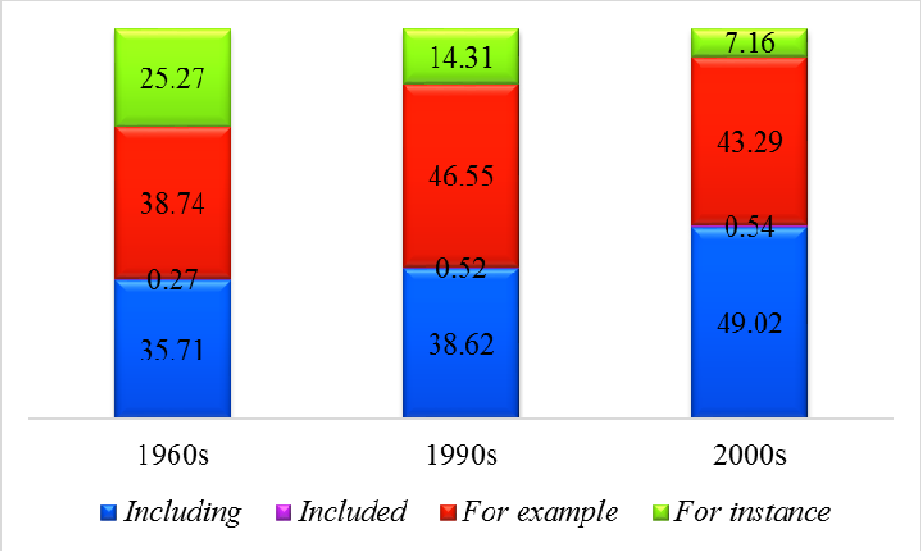
8.2.1. Diachronic development of EMs in PDE: BrE vs. AmE

The raw figures for the two varieties of English under analysis here suggest a similar use of exemplifying constructions with *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*: 1,503 exemplifying constructions in the BrE corpora and 1,481 in the AmE material. If we break these absolute figures down into the three different subperiods considered in this chapter (i.e. 1960s, 1990s and 2000s), the picture is still quite balanced. Consider in this connection Figures 8 and 9 below, which show the development of the four EMs in BrE and AmE from the 1960s up to the first decade of the 21st century.[76] In the figures, the data are given in percentages so as to provide a

[76] The data in these figures correspond to those in Table 12 above.

more accurate representation of the distribution of the selected markers in the six corpora.[77]

Figure 8. Distribution of the four EMs according to subperiod in BrE



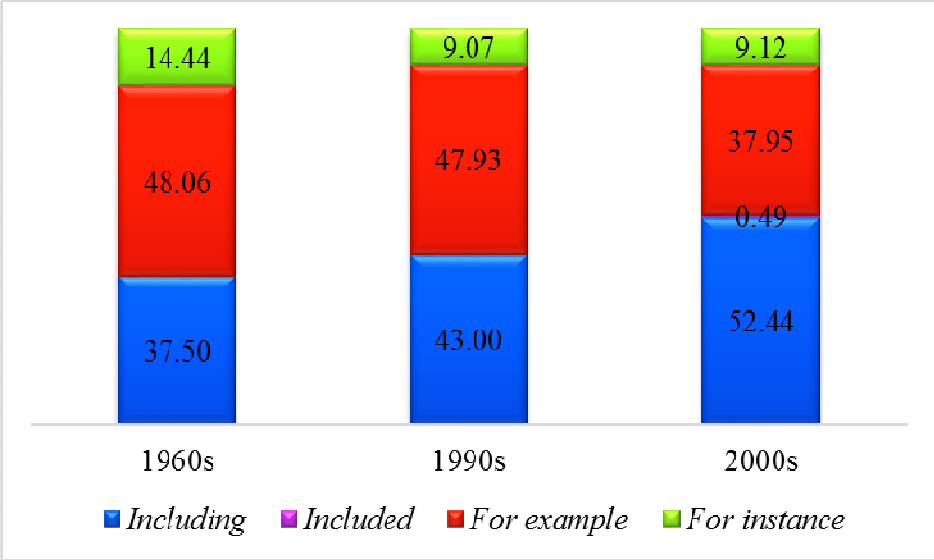
As the figure shows, *for example* starts as the most common EM in BrE (141 occurrences, 38.74%), and its use gradually increases until the 1990s (270 occurrences, 46.55%). However, it declines since then, and even though it is still very frequent in the 2000s (243 occurrences, 43.29%), it now occupies the second position among the EMs in this variety. *Including*, in turn, is initially the second most common EM in BrE (130 occurrences, 35.71%). Since then, it constantly increases until the 21st century, when it becomes the most popular EM with a total of 274 occurrences (49.02%). As far as *for instance* is concerned, it is much less common in all the three subperiods under analysis, and it decreases in frequency across time: from 92 occurrences in *LOB* (25.27%) to 83 in *FLOB* (14.31%) and just 40 in *BE06* (7.16%). Finally, as already pointed out, the use

[77] The data in the remainder of this section are given in percentages too.

of the EM *included* in the corpora is just occasional, with only one example in *LOB* (0.27%) and three in *FLOB* (0.52%) and *BE06* (0.54%).

Concerning the AmE data, the EMs in this variety show a similar development to that described above for BrE, except for the marker *for instance*. Consider Figure 9.

Figure 9. Distribution of the four EMs according to subperiod in AmE



As was the case in BrE, *for example* is the most common EM in the 1960s (173 occurrences, 48.06%) and the 1990s (243 examples, 47.93%), followed by *including* (135 occurrences in *BROWN*, 37.50%, and 218 in *FROWN*, 43%). In the 2000s, these two markers switch positions and *including*, with 322 occurrences (52.44%), is now more common than *for example*, which occurs 233 times (37.95%). In turn, *for instance* is not very common in AmE, its use ranging from 46 to 56 examples in the three subperiods considered (from 9.07% to 14.44%). Lastly, *included* is recorded only three times in *AE06* (0.49%), and not even once in the other AmE corpora.

A contrastive analysis between the two varieties shows that, with some exceptions, the development of the four selected EMs is very similar in BrE and AmE.

The use of the EM *including* is increasing in the two varieties, and it is always more common in AmE than in BrE. As for *included*, it has never been popular in either BrE or AmE. However, whereas in the British variety it is recorded in the three subperiods under analysis (one example in *LOB*, three in *FLOB* and three in *BE06*), in the American data *included* is only found on three occasions in *AE06*. Nonetheless, the number of examples with this marker in the corpora is too low to draw any definite conclusions. As regards *for example*, it was initially more common in AmE (48.06%) than in BrE (38.74%) in the 1960s, but this situation is reversed in the 21st century (43.29% of the total number of examples in *BE06* vs. 37.95% in *AE06*). *For instance*, in turn, was almost twice as common in BrE than in AmE in the 1960s (92 occurrences in *LOB*, 25.27%, vs. 52 in *BROWN*, 14.44%), though its use has been reduced in the 21st century in both varieties, but it is now more popular in AmE (40 occurrences in *BE06*, 7.16%, vs. 56 in *AE06*, 9.12%). Finally, if we compare the use of exemplifying constructions regardless of the EM in the three subperiods analysed we can conclude that such constructions become more frequent across time. Thus, 724 cases of exemplification with *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* are attested in the data from the 1960s, and the number rises in the two subsequent subperiods: 1,087 cases in the 1990s and 1,173 in the 2000s.

8.2.2. Pleonastic EMs

In Section 6.5 above, all the potential combinations of EMs were considered. In the present section, the focus is on those combinations of EMs attested in the PDE corpora, which amount to 35. Pleonastic markers are more recurrent in BrE than in AmE, although in decreasing frequency over time: 12 examples in *LOB*, eight in *FLOB* and

five in *BE06*. On the other hand, they are not very popular in AmE: only two examples in *BROWN* and eight in *AE06*. Table 14 below summarises all the combinations of EMs found in the corpora.

Table 14. Pleonastic markers in the PDE corpora

	EM+EM	**EM+EE+EM**	**TOTAL**
as for example	12	2	14
such as for example	2	1	3
like for example	3	2	5
including for example	2	0	2
as for instance	4	1	5
such as for instance	0	1	1
like for instance	2	3	5
TOTAL	25	10	35

As shown in the table, EMs combine in the corpora in two different ways: they can appear together before the EE (indicated in the table as "EM+EM", and illustrated in (8.18) below) or they can be separated by the EE (indicated in the table by "EM+EE+EM", as in (8.19)). To put it differently, both EMs can occur in P1 or one of them can come in P1 and the other one in P3. The flexibility of *for example* and *for instance* as regards position (see Section 8.3.1 below) makes these two arrangements possible.

(8.18) *The motive for abduction* in fairy tales *is usually love*, **as**, **for example**, in Guingamor, Lanval and Graelent […]. (*LOB*, J62 10)

(8.19) *Suppose Bishop A also writes an open letter to* a secular newspaper, **such as** The New York Times, **for instance**, *urging all his fellow citizens to defend the right to life of the unborn by outlawing abortion and by giving the*

> *abortion question first priority in their decision as to which candidate to vote into office*. (*BE06*, D04)

In all the combinations recorded in the material, the second marker is one of the EMs classified as neutral in Section 6.3.1 above, that is to say, it is either *for example* (24 examples) or *for instance* (11 examples). The other markers which combine with these two forms are *as*, *such as* and *like*. *Including* also combines with *for example*. As explained in Section 6.5 above, the fact that the neutral markers follow other EMs in combinations like the ones discussed here may be a strategy to delete any potential nuance of emphasis conveyed by EMs from the hypothetical, comparative and focalising groups (cf. Section 6.3). By far, the most common combination in the corpora is *as for example*, with 14 occurrences. As seen in Section 7.2.1.3, this combination was also very frequent in the EModE period, when *for example* was not fully grammaticalised as an EM yet. The co-occurrence of *as* and *for example* in the contemporary language probably responds to different motivations than those offered for earlier stages. It may be hypothesised that, at present, it is *for example* the marker that reinforces *as*. In other words, *as* may not be perceived as a genuine EM anymore in PDE, so that it may need to combine with an unambiguous EM in some cases.[78]

The corpus data show that the placement of two EMs next to each other (EM+EM) is more common than their separation by means of the EE (EM+EE+EM), although the percentages are different depending on the second EM used in the construction. Thus, in 79% of the pleonastic markers where *for example* is the second

[78] Note that neither Quirk *et al.* (1985) nor Meyer (1992) mention this marker in their reviews of PDE EMs (cf. Section 2.2.2.1 above), which may corroborate the idea that *as* is no longer perceived as a clear EM.

marker chosen show the arrangement EM+EM and only in 21% of the cases does the EE intervene between the two markers. In contrast, the distribution of the two patterns involving the use of pleonastic markers is much more even when the second EM is *for instance*: in 55% of the cases *for instance* immediately follows another EM, while in 45% the EE brings the two markers apart.

Before closing this section, let us consider some examples which may at first sight look like combinations of two EMs but which on closer inspection prove to be something different.

(8.20) *But she is a quick learner, and in a character she looks very secure, playing with balance, phrasing, and attack and shading her moods. Her dancing rises to a passionate commitment, too (**as*** Olga in John Cranko's Onegin, **for example**). (*FROWN*, E24 116)

(8.21) *Treatment groups will be abbreviated **as**,* **for example**, sham-oil-saline, *which refers to ewes that were sham ovariectomized on day 0, given sesame oil injections from day 0 through day 11, and given an injection of saline on day 9.* (*AE06*, J)

(8.22) It is not true that one may find anything one fancies in a given manifestation of sounds or articulations; theories of Ur-language (**for example**), **such as** the gestural and the bow-wow, however unproven they were in themselves, were founded upon natural imitative tendencies, often unconscious, in infants and adults. (*FLOB*, G60 104)

In (8.20) above, *as* clearly indicates comparison: the writer is comparing a woman (referred to in the text as *she*) to some *Olga*. Therefore, no combination of EMs occurs in this instance. In (8.21), in turn, *as* introduces a verb complement: the unit introduced by *as* (i.e. *sham-oil-saline*) is required by the verb *abbreviate*. Therefore, we are not in front of a combination of EMs either. A different kind of example is represented in (8.22). Here, *for example* and *such as* are EMs, but they belong to different exemplifying constructions. *For example* is the EM for a long EE, namely *theories of Ur-language, such as the gestural and the bow-wow, however unproven they were in*

themselves, were founded upon natural imitative tendencies, often unconscious, in infants and adults. Within this long EE there is another exemplifying construction, whose EM is *such as*. At this level, the GE is *theories of Ur-language* and the EE *the gestural and the bow-wow*. For that reason, even though *for example* and *such as* occur alongside, they do not belong to the same exemplifying sequence and do not therefore represent a case of pleonastic EMs. As a matter of fact, such combination of EMs would not be possible, as the markers from the neutral group (in this case, *for example*) can only follow the markers from the other groups discussed in Section 6.3 above (here *such as*), but not precede them.

8.3. Arrangement of the units in exemplification

8.3.1. Position of the EMs in the exemplifying sequence

As mentioned in Section 6.4 above, the expected position for an EM in an exemplifying sequence is between the two units which it links, in other words, P1. It has been explained (cf. Sections 2.2.3.3 and 6.4) that P1 is the preferred position because when the EM comes at the beginning of the EE, it clearly delimits where this unit begins. On the contrary, when the EM appears after the EE (i.e. P3) there is no immediate clue to indicate where this unit starts, except for (on some occasions) the presence of a pause before it. Therefore, the use of an EM in P3 is less useful from the point of view of processing than in P1. If the EM occurs in P3, the EE tends to be a short unit, although long units are also possible on some occasions, as in the following example:

(8.23) *Those two or three years now seem like a dream, a chimera, the trawlings of my darkest subconscious.* The images that haunt me from that period in my

> life seem barely credible. Did I really see a jolly Venetian in Crawley Operatic Society's production of The Gondoliers barged off the stage into the orchestra pit during the dancing of a gay cachucha, **for instance**? (*BE06*, G35)

The corpus analysis carried out in this chapter confirms the preference to use P1 (2,364 cases, 79.22% of the total) to P3 (151 cases, 5.06%). Alongside P1 and P3, some EMs may also occur in the middle of the EE (i.e. P2), a position motivated by pragmatic reasons. When the marker breaks the EE into two parts, it usually serves an emphatic function: the marker isolates a fragment of the EE in order to make it more prominent. This usually happens when the EE is a whole sentence. The corpus material provides 469 occurrences of EMs in P2 (15.72%). In these examples, the components of the sentence more often emphasised are the subject (249 examples, 53.09% of the total, as in (8.24) below), a place adjunct (69 examples, 14.71%, as in (8.25)) or a time adjunct (30 examples, 6.40%, as illustrated by (8.26)).

(8.24) Nevertheless, there are some respects in which we may think of both these great founders of the social sciences as being religious educators. Freud, **for example**, liked to think of himself as being similar to Moses, leading the Israel of an emancipated humanity forward to the promised land free of inhibitions guided by the laws of psycho-analysis. (*FLOB*, F28 20)

(8.25) It is said that there is nothing new under the sun, but regarding foodstuffs the traveller occasionally encounters a certain measure of novelty. In China, **for instance**, dried rats are esteemed a delicacy. (*LOB*, F07 92)

(8.26) The needs of merchants and of bankers were vital, and the mercantilist economic principles of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries meant that the state took a close interest in trade and commerce, actively regulating economic life as a way to pay the expenses of government. In the early eighteenth century, **for example**, rarely a year passed in which a new law designed to regulate colonial trade in some fashion, or to control customs revenue (and its enemy, piracy), did not come before parliament. (*AE06*, J)

In other cases, when the EM appears in P2, it separates the two elements of an enumeration. As seen in Section 6.4 above, Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995: 118)

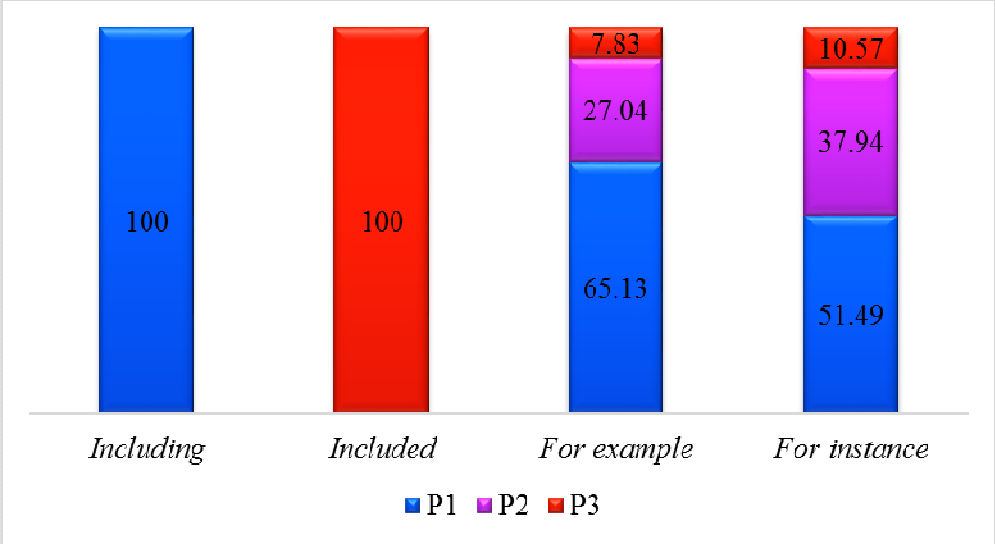
maintains that EMs cannot intervene between the items listed in an EE. However, examples with the EM between the two items of an enumeration are indeed recorded in the corpora, as (8.27) and (8.28) below show:

(8.27) *The codes of behaviour which had grown up, generally enforced with discretion, were not absurd given* their historical context (the economic dependence of women on men, **for instance**, **and** of youth on age). (*FLOB*, F01 59)

(8.28) *Some editors in the field, however, seem to have picked up from their reading the notion that humour is a sign of maturity, and compete with one another to fill their pages with* stories whose very titles are enough to chill the blood: "The Cerebrative Psittacoid", **for instance**, **or** "The Gnurrs Come from the Voodvork Out". (*LOB*, G36 144)

Figure 10 below shows the relation between position and EM.

Figure 10. Position of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* with regard to the EE



As the bar chart shows, the position of an EM in the exemplifying sequence depends to a great extent on the EM itself. Thus, *including* always comes in P1 and *included* in P3. The historical analysis carried out in Sections 7.2.1.1 and 7.2.1.2 shows that this distribution has remained stable over history. However, *for example* and *for instance*

have not fossilised in any fixed position: they may occur in P1, P2 and P3.[79] Let us consider these two markers in more detail, starting with *for example*.

Table 15 below highlights the similarities between the two dialectal varieties considered in this dissertation: the distribution of *for example* in the different positions is analogous in the three subperiods under analysis in both BrE and AmE.

Table 15. Position of *for example* in the exemplifying sequence in BrE and AmE

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**Total**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
P1	97	68.79	180	66.67	179	73.97	456	69.83
P2	30	21.28	72	26.67	44	18.18	146	22.36
P3	14	9.93	18	6.67	19	7.85	51	7.81
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**Total**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
P1	112	64.74	142	58.44	154	66.09	408	62.10
P2	47	27.17	83	34.16	60	25.75	190	30.05
P3	14	8.09	18	7.41	19	8.15	51	7.86

P1 is by far the preferred position in all the corpora, and it is always more common in the British variety. In the 1990s, P1 somewhat recedes in both BrE and AmE, but it then recovers in the 2000s. P2, in turn, is the second most popular position in all the corpora,

[79] Further information on fixation is given in Section 4.2.2 above.

and it is slightly more frequent in AmE than in BrE. It is especially common in the 1990s in both varieties, when the highest number of examples with *for example* in this position is found. Finally, P3 is the less productive position with this marker, being used in less than 10% of the corpus examples in each individual corpus.

Let us focus now on *for instance*. Even though the similarities in the use of this marker in BrE and AmE are also patent, the data are not so balanced as in the case of *for example*, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Position of *for instance* in the exemplifying sequence in BrE and AmE

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**Total**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
P1	61	66.30	43	51.81	22	55.00	126	58.60
P2	25	27.17	32	38.55	11	27.50	68	31.63
P3	6	6.52	8	9.64	7	17.50	21	9.77
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**Total**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
P1	26	48.08	23	50.00	22	39.29	71	46.10
P2	21	42.31	19	41.30	25	44.64	65	42.21
P3	5	9.62	4	8.70	9	16.07	18	11.69

As seen here, P1 is also the most common position in both varieties, although not as common as with *for example*. Moreover, P1 shows a decrease from the 1960s (66.30% in BrE vs. 48.08% in AmE) to the 2000s (55% in BrE vs. 39.29% in AmE). It is always

more common in BrE than in AmE, though both varieties show a similar number of exemplifying constructions with *for instance* in P1 in the 1990s, when the use of this position decreases in BrE (51.81%) but increases in AmE (50%). As far as P2 is concerned, the two varieties also follow opposing trends. In BrE, we witness an increase from the 1960s (27.17%) to the 1990s (38.55%), then a decrease in the 2000s (27.50%). For AmE, the figures are far more stable: 42.31% in *BROWN*, 41.30% in *FROWN* and 44.64% in *AE06*. Finally, P3 is rare in the 1960s and the 1990s in both varieties (6.52% in *LOB* and 9.64% in *FLOB* vs. 9.62% in *BROWN* and 8.70% in *FROWN*), but it then becomes quite frequent in the 2000s in both varieties (17.50% in *BE06* and 16.07% in *AE06*).

To summarise, the position occupied by the EM depends to a great extent on the selection of the marker itself. Thus, *including* always comes in P1 and *included* in P3. By contrast, *for example* and *for instance* do not have a fixed position and they can occur before, after and in the middle of the EE. Of these positions, P1 is the preferred one because it clearly delimits the beginning of the EE, and P3 the least common since, in this case, nothing indicates where the EE starts, which may be potentially ambiguous. The placement of an EM in P2 typically responds to pragmatic reasons: it isolates an element of the EE and emphasises it (cf. Section 6.4 above). The picture for EMs in PDE as regards their position in the exemplifying sequence is very similar to that described in Chapter 7 for the historical material: *including* and *included* have always occurred in the positions we find them today, whereas *for example* and *for instance* were also more frequent in P1 in earlier English, though P2 and, to a lesser extent, P3 were possible too.

8.3.2. Order of the GE and the EE in the exemplifying sequence and presence of intervening material

So far, we have not considered the arrangement of the GE and the EE in the exemplifying sequence because the GE is always expected to come before the EE. In fact, this is the position which these two units invariably occupy in the corpus material. Nonetheless, there is one instance where, at first sight, the EE seems to come first, although on closer inspection the construction does not involve exemplification. This is (8.29) below, where the unit introduced by *including* (*including Huston*) appears in initial position, before the supposed GE to which it refers, namely *the top five directors in the industry*. Had the sequence stopped here, this could be analysed as an instance of exemplification with *including* as an EM where the EE comes before the GE. However, the sequence continues: *as William Wyler, George Stevens, Fred Zinnemann, and Billy Wilder*. It seems, therefore, that the full list of items which constitute the GE is provided here, rather than an exemplification of it. Therefore, (8.29) does not illustrate a case of exemplification but belongs to that group of constructions discussed in Section 8.1 above whose meaning is closer to that of other more central appositional types like those conveying the idea of equivalence.

(8.29) *Newsweek offered a mid-decade appraisal of the American popular film occasioned by John Huston's about-to-be-released Moby Dick.* **Including** Huston, *the article named* 'the top five directors in the industry' as William Wyler, George Stevens, Fred Zinnemann, and Billy Wilder. (*FROWN*, G46 51)

Another important aspect of the arrangement of exemplifying constructions has to do with the presence of intervening material between the GE and the EE (see Section 2.2.2.7 above). For some, the presence of intervening material prevents the analysis of a

given construction as appositional (cf. Potts 2005: 104). For others (Norwood 1954: 270; Seright 1966: 109; Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1302 and Meyer 1992: 37-39, among others), intervening material does not prove to be a hindrance: it only makes such appositional structures less prototypical. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1302) denominate these constructions *discontinuous*. In this dissertation, the presence of intervening material between the GE and the EE is not taken to invalidate the analysis of a given sequence as exemplifying. In fact, in 182 of the examples analysed (6.10% of the total) the two units are split by some kind of linguistic material, as in (8.30) (*for some time*) and (8.31) (*were recovered*) below.

(8.30) *It was a problem which had been worrying* the servants of the royal household *for some time* –**including** those political clergy whom Wyclif had denounced […]. (*LOB*, G01 107)

(8.31) Two bodies *were recovered,* **including** that of her Master, *while three crew members are missing*. (*FLOB*, F22 38)

Discontinuous exemplification is more common when *including* is the marker. As a matter of fact, in 86.81% of the examples where the GE and the EE are separated, the EM is *including*. The remaining cases of discontinuous exemplification are distributed as follows: 6.59% of the constructions have *for example* as marker, 5.49% have *for instance* in this function, and only in 1.10% of the total is *included* the EM. As regards the type of material which may intervene between the GE and the EE, in 54% of the examples (98 out of 182) such material is the predicate, as in (8.31) above. In this example, the GE (*two bodies*) and the EE (*that of her Master*) are split by the VP (*were recovered*). In turn, about 54% (53 out of 98) of the instances where the predicate separates the two units correspond to exemplifying constructions which function as

subject, as in this example.[80] This is in line with Meyer's (1992: 38) and Seoane-Posse's (1994: 174-175) claims that the appositive may come after the verb in order to avoid heavy units in pre-verbal position (cf. Section 2.2.2.7).

Finally, there is one isolated instance in my data where intervening material comes between the EM and the EE. This is (8.32) below, where the EM *including* is separated from the EE (i.e. *the top of the Star building, where I would start work tomorrow*) by *Tess proudly pointed out, as though she had put it there herself*.

(8.32) *The Miami River, with its drawbridge and boat traffic, was to my left, the hotel's Olympic-size pool, surrounded by blue-and-white-striped cabanas, gleamed invitingly below, and to the right was* a portion of Miami skyline, **including**, *Tess proudly pointed out, as though she had put it there herself,* the top of the Star building, where I would start work tomorrow. (*AE06*, K)

8.4. Syntactic forms of the GE and the EE

The present section considers the types of syntactic forms which the units in exemplification take in the PDE corpora. In Sections 8.4.1 to 8.4.4, the different syntactic forms are considered taking into account the EM involved in the exemplifying construction. In each section, the GE and the EE are first explained separately, and then compared.

[80] See Section 8.5 below for further information on the syntactic functions carried out by the exemplifying constructions found in the corpora.

8.4.1. Exemplifying constructions with including

In exemplifying constructions with the marker *including*, the units tend to be almost exclusively NPs, although other syntactic forms are also possible. Table 17 provides the figures for the GE.

Table 17. Syntactic forms of the GE in exemplifying constructions with *including*

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	129	99.23	220	98.21	271	98.91	620	98.73
C	-	-	3	1.34	2	0.73	5	0.80
AdjP	1	0.77	1	0.45	1	0.36	3	0.48
TOTAL	130	100.00	224	100.00	274	100.00	628	100.00
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	134	99.26	213	97.71	318	97.83	662	98.07
C	-	-	4	1.83	4	1.24	8	1.19
AdvP	1	0.74	1	0.46	-	-	2	0.30
TOTAL	135	100.00	218	100.00	322	100.00	675	100.00

Table 17 shows the clear prevalence of NPs in the GE: in both BrE and AmE, NPs are used in about 98% of the examples in any of the three subperiods analysed. In my data, the NPs which participate in an exemplifying construction are either singular or plural or they contain enumerations. In this dissertation, I differentiate enumerations from

plural elements because the former typically imply a longer unit, something which might prove relevant to the current study. Given that the first element in an exemplifying construction has a broader referent than its EE (cf. Section 3.2 above), the majority of NPs which function as GEs occur in the plural, as in (8.33) below, which contains two exemplifying constructions with *including* as marker. The GEs are *twelve bishops* and *twelve Puritan divines*, both in the plural. Plural GEs are more common in AmE. In this variety, NPs occur in the plural in between 67% and 79% of the examples in any of the three periods analysed, a percentage which ranges from 62% to 69% in the British corpora. Unexpectedly, singular NPs are rather common too in the material: they constitute 29%-36% of the nominal GEs in BrE, and 19%-28% in AmE. Interestingly, in some of these GEs, the head of the NP is a collective noun, as in (8.34) below, where the GE is the morphologically singular but semantically plural noun *family*. In other cases, even if the noun is not collective properly speaking, its meaning can be interpreted as semantically collective in that particular instance, as in (8.35) below, where the head of the GE is the singular noun *work* in the phrase *all the work*. Finally, there are some examples where the GE is a NP of the type "*a* + (adjective) + quantity noun + *of*", such as *a (wide/whole new/small/broad) range of, a (wide/large) variety of, a (long/whole) series of, a (considerable/fair/large/small) number of, a(n) (wide/great) array of, a lot of, a whole list of, a string of, a majority of, a set of, a great deal of, a continual stream of, a fair amount of* and *a whole host of*, among others. Some of these sequences take a singular verb (such as *there **is** a wide range of children's services* in (8.36) below), others a plural VP (such as *there **are** a fair number of keepers in the show* in (8.37)). Nominal GEs belonging to the last type found in my material, namely

enumerations, are scarce (they constitute less than 5% of all the nominal GEs found), and they involve two or three elements, as illustrated in (8.38).

(8.33) *On August 15, 1661, at the Savoy Hospital, that conference met. To it came* twelve bishops (**including** John Cosin of Durham, Robert Sanderson of Lincoln, and Gilbert Sheldon of London) *and* twelve Puritan divines (**including** Richard Baxter). (*LOB*, D05 181)

(8.34) His family *was all at his side*, **including** his only son, Eric, *with whom his relations had long been strained.* (*FLOB*, G05 5)

(8.35) *It would be a serious mistake to walk away from the letter after* all the work that was done, **including** the consultations. (*FROWN*, D16 85)

(8.36) *There is also* a wide range of children's services, **including** regular story times and story tapes. (*BE06*, A23)

(8.37) *Fortunately, there are* a fair number of keepers *in the show*, **including** a soberly realistic 1869 portrait of a woman in a lacy black dress by Renoir, a thinly painted view of reflective water and rural scenery by Monet that shows how intensely responsive to visual reality the great Impressionist could be at his best, and a verdant landscape painted in 1874 by Cezanne when he was spending a lot of time in the company of Camille Pissarro. (*AE06*, C)

(8.38) *The Congress is specifically asked to confirm* "strict observations of all international agreements and obligations of the Soviet Union, **including** the question of arms cuts and control as well as foreign economic obligations". (*FLOB*, B01 142)

Besides NPs, GEs may have other syntactic forms, although rather infrequently. Thus, clauses are used as GEs in the corpora from the 1990s and the 2000s in both varieties, but only from two to four times in each corpus (see example (8.39) below, where the GE is the nominal relative clause *what was required*). All the clausal GEs with *including* in my data are either *–ing* clauses or nominal relative clauses (i.e. those where the *wh–* relativiser is merged with its antecedent; see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1056). Interestingly, these two types of clauses are very close to NPs in their behaviour, thus reinforcing the tendency identified above for *including* to link nominal (or nominal-like) units. AdvPs may also occupy the GE position sporadically. I have identified only two

such instances in the AmE material from the 1960s and the 1990s, one per period (cf. (8.40) below). In addition, three AdjPs have been attested as GE in the BrE variety (one per period). An example of an adjectival GE is given in (8.41) below (i.e. *special*).

(8.39) *She stayed for just a year, but gained an insight into* what was required, **including** recording techniques. (*FLOB*, E11 192)

(8.40) *The segment was aired* nation-wide, **including** on the West Coast, *where the show is tape delayed.* (*FROWN*, A22 38)

(8.41) *They also run short courses for* special (**including** vocational) *interest*. (*FLOB*, H21 163)

Let us now proceed to the analysis of the EE. As Table 18 below shows, the types of syntactic forms which the EEs introduced by *including* have in my data do not substantially differ from those of their GEs.

Table 18. Syntactic forms of the EE in exemplifying constructions with *including*

	BrE							
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	129	99.23	216	96.43	260	94.89	605	96.34
C	-	-	7	3.13	11	4.01	18	2.87
AdjP	1	0.77	1	0.45	1	0.36	3	0.48
MIX	-	-	-	-	2	0.73	2	0.32
TOTAL	130	100.00	224	100.00	274	100.00	628	100.00

Table 18. Syntactic forms of the EE in exemplifying constructions with *including* (cont.)

AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	132	97.78	209	95.87	302	93.79	643	95.26
C	3	2.22	6	2.75	14	4.35	23	3.41
PP	-	-	1	0.46	2	0.62	3	0.44
AdvP	-	-	-	-	2	0.62	2	0.30
S	-	-	1	0.46	1	0.31	2	0.30
MIX	-	-	1	0.46	1	0.31	2	0.30
TOTAL	135	100.00	218	100.00	322	100.00	675	100.00

In most cases, the EE introduced by this marker is a NP too. Although the percentages are slightly lower than those of the GE, nominal EEs constitute over 93% of the EEs in all six corpora. However, the use of NPs decreases in both varieties from the 1960s to the 2000s (99.23% in *LOB*, 96.43% in *FLOB* and 94.84% in *BE06* vs. 97.78% in *BROWN*, 95.87% in *FROWN* and 93.79% in *AE06*). As regards the types of NPs which occur in the EE, enumerations increase from one period to the next to the detriment of plural and singular NPs. In the 1960s, singular NPs are the most common option in both varieties (47% of the nominal EEs in BrE and 42% in AmE). However, in the 2000s enumerations are the most frequent type of nominal EE (43% in BrE and 41% in AmE). In the examples analysed, the number of conjoins in the EE tends to be larger than in the GE, and it ranges from two (cf. example (8.42) below: *Allen Ginsberg and Gregory Corso*) to 10 (see (8.43) below: *epilepsy, kidney cancer, deafness, blindness, auto-immune disorders, congenital heart disease, skeletal malformations, neurological*

abnormalities, bleeding disorders and neuropsychiatric disorders), although two conjoins is by far the most common option. In turn, plural NPs have always been the least usual type of nominal EEs, their use ranging from 23% to 26% in BrE, and from 21% to 28% in AmE.

(8.42) *Jack Kerouac's ad-libbed text for the* beat [Beat] *film made in a Bowery flat by Robert Frank and Alfred Leslie, with stills of* the strolling players, **including** Allen Ginsberg and Gregory Corso. (*LOB*, C06 105)

(8.43) *The majority of those breeds are also susceptible to one or more of more than 400 genetic disorders,* approximately 350 of which *are also found in humans,* **including** epilepsy, kidney cancer, deafness, blindness, auto-immune disorders, congenital heart disease, skeletal malformations, neurological abnormalities, bleeding disorders and neuropsychiatric disorders. (*AE06*, E)

Alongside NPs, other syntactic forms can also be found in the EEs introduced by *including*, although their use is far less recurrent. Clauses, for example, are the second most common syntactic form after NPs: seven examples are found in *FLOB* (3.13%) and 11 in *BE06* (4.01%). In AmE they are slightly more frequent: three examples in *BROWN* (2.22%), six in *FROWN* (2.75%) and 14 in *AE06* (4.35%). An example of a clausal EE is given under (8.44) below. Three AdjPs (one per period) complete the picture for BrE; see (8.41) above for an example of an adjectival EE. In AmE, we also find PPs (one in the 1990s and two in the 2000s, as illustrated in (8.40) above: *on the West Coast*), AdvPs (two in the 2000s, cf. examples (8.45) and (8.46) below: *here in Tuluksak* and *emotionally*, respectively) and sentences (one in the 1990s and another one in the 2000s). The two examples of sentential EEs found in the American corpora have the same structure: "NP + *including* + : + sentences", as (8.47) below shows. Exemplifying constructions with sentences are rare when the marker is *including*, as this item tends to introduce more simple units.

(8.44) *When brave Rajiv Gandhi was virtually conscripted into his murdered mother's job, he did attempt* some reforms, **including** cutting the top marginal tax rate from Nehru's (negotiated) 98.7% to 50% (sometimes actually paid). (*FLOB*, B12 83)

(8.45) *But then again, how was she supposed to know that all the mushers were entitled to complimentary straw for their sled dogs* at several points *during the K300 racecourse*, **including** here in Tuluksak? (*AE06*, K)

(8.46) *They are patriots who, once committed, commit on* all levels, **including** emotionally. (*AE06*, A)

(8.47) *Tightening supply and demand, and regulatory changes are producing* significant effects, *according to the study*, **including**:

- Gas price will be more volatile and less predictable on seasonal patterns
- Competitive restructuring and realignment among producers, pipelines, marketers and distribution companies driven by FERC Order 636 and a tightening market will benefit merchants who can provide flexible, reliable supply. (*FROWN*, E33 23)

Finally, in some of the examples analysed (two in *BE06*, one in *FROWN* and one in *AE06*), the EE consists of an enumeration with the conjoins showing different syntactic forms. For instance, in example (8.48) below a NP and an *–ing* clause are coordinated in the EE. However, as already mentioned in this section, *–ing* clauses behave in fact similarly to NPs, hence the possibility of linking these two syntactic forms in the EE.

(8.48) *Then tell him* your non-negotiables, **including** respect (no name calling when they argue) and maintaining relationships with his other friends and his family. (*AE06*, F)

In short, from the analysis of the exemplifying constructions with *including* from the corpora we can conclude that NP is the preferred form for both the GE and the EE, regardless of the period or of the variety of English considered. Therefore, these constructions entail a relation similar to that of the verb *include* with its subject and DO. This suggests that, even though *including* has grammaticalised as an EM, its use and

meaning are still close to those of its source form. The main difference between nominal GEs and nominal EEs in the material is the fact that the former occur predominantly in the plural in any of the three periods analysed, whereas the latter tend to be in the singular in the 1960s, but they are mostly enumerations in the 2000s. The use of forms other than NPs in both the GE (i.e. AdvPs, AdjPs or clauses) and the EE (i.e. AdvPs, AdjPs, clauses or sentences) is possible but rare.

Let us consider now the possible combinations of syntactic forms in the GE and the EE. Table 19 summarises all the combinations found in the corpora.

Table 19. Combinations of syntactic forms in exemplifying constructions with *including*

GE / EE	NP	AdjP	C	PP	AdvP
NP	1,237	-	9	1	1
AdjP	-	3	-	-	-
C	36	-	3	1	-
PP	3	-	-	-	1
AdvP	2	-	-	-	-
S	2	-	-	-	-
Mix	4	-	-	-	-

In the material, 95.40% of the examples have the same type of syntactic form in the GE and in the EE, especially two NPs as expected from the outstanding frequency of this type of syntactic form in cases of exemplification with *including*. As seen in Sections 2.2.2.4 and 7.2.1 above, this is called *strict exemplification*. Only 4.60% of the total represents *weak exemplification*. The most common type of weak exemplification is that

which involves the combination of a NP with a clause, although, as already explained in this section, all the clauses which appear in exemplification with this EM in the corpora are clauses which behave like NPs (e.g. nominal relative clauses or *–ing* clauses).

8.4.2. Exemplifying constructions with **included**

As mentioned in Section 8.2 above, *included* is unquestionably the least common EM in the material analysed: it only occurs seven times in BrE and three times in AmE. In all the corpus examples, exemplifying constructions with *included* consist of nominal elements exclusively. Similarly to nominal constructions with *including*, plural GEs are more common: only two singular NPs are found in the GE in *BE06* and one in *AE06*. The rest of GEs with *included* are inflected for the plural. However, unlike *including*, with the marker *included* plural EEs are more common than singular ones or enumerations: there are five plural EEs (one in *LOB* and two in *FLOB* and *BE06*, respectively), four singular ones (one in *FLOB*, another one in *BE06* and two in *AE06*) and one enumeration (in *AE06*). Example (8.49) below illustrates a singular GE with a collective meaning followed by a plural EE (that is, *themselves*). Example (8.50), in turn, illustrates a plural GE (*most states*) and an EE with an enumeration (*Arkansas and Louisiana*). In all the examples where *included* is used as an EM, the EE is short (three words at most).

(8.49) *Indeed, it can be argued that* everyone that Her Majesty's Customs and Excise dragged into this debacle *was poorer*, themselves **included** *–the administration involved in chasing payment and then passing around £8,050 is not a trifling matter and the whole affair contributed precisely nothing to the Treasury's coffers*. (*BE06*, R02)

(8.50) Most states, Arkansas and Louisiana **included**, *spend less than the minimum recommended by the federal government on anti-smoking programs*. (*AE06*, B)

8.4.3. Exemplifying constructions with for example

Table 20 below is the starting point for the analysis of the GE in exemplifying constructions with the marker *for example*.

As shown here, when the EM used in an exemplifying construction is *for example*, the GE tends to be a complex unit, especially a sentence (see Sections 3.3.3 and 6.1.2). Sentences are, indeed, the most common type of GEs with this marker in the corpus data regardless of period or variety, its frequency ranging from 51% to almost 75% in the different corpora analysed, although they are far more common in AmE than in BrE (72.27% vs. 57.58%). The two varieties show a similar development across time, their frequency growing from one period to the next, although it holds back in the 2000s in AmE (51.06% in *LOB*, 57.41% in *FLOB* and 61.57% in *BE06* vs. 65.32% in *BROWN*, 74.90% in *FROWN* and 74.68 in *AE06*). An example of a sentential GE is given in (8.51) below.

(8.51) Children are simultaneously getting increasingly taller and heavier as the years roll by. **For example**, on an average, a girl of eight in 1959 was as tall and heavy as a girl of eight-and-a-half in 1949. And in ten years the average height of a ten-year-old has increased by half an inch, the average weight by three-and-a-half pounds. (*LOB*, F17 46)

After sentences, the second most frequent type of GE in the data involves the omission of the GE. However, the elided GE (which is more common in BrE than in AmE, 26.80% vs. 17.10%) shows a decreasing tendency over time (31.21% in *LOB*, 26.67% in *FLOB* and 24.38% in *BE06* vs. 24.86% in *BROWN*, 16.05% in *FROWN* and

Table 20. Syntactic forms of the GE in exemplifying constructions with *for example*

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	20	14.18	36	13.33	28	11.57	84	12.86
C	1	0.71	-	-	2	0.83	3	0.46
Ø	44	31.21	72	26.67	59	24.38	175	26.80
AdvP	2	1.42	2	0.74	-	-	4	0.61
S	72	51.06	155	57.41	149	61.57	376	57.58
PP	2	1.42	5	1.85	4	1.65	11	1.68
TOTAL	141	100.00	270	100.00	242	100.00	653	100.00
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	15	8.67	21	8.64	26	11.16	62	9.55
C	-	-	-	-	1	0.43	1	0.15
Ø	43	24.86	39	16.05	29	12.45	111	17.10
AdvP	-	-	-	-	1	0.43	1	0.15
S	113	65.32	182	74.90	174	74.68	469	72.27
PP	2	1.16	1	0.41	2	0.86	5	0.77
TOTAL	173	100.00	243	100.00	233	100.00	649	100.00

12.45% in *AE06*). The omission of the GE is especially common when the EE is used directly after verbs, as in (8.52) below. In this example, the verb is in the imperative. The combination "imperative + *for example*" appears occasionally in the corpora. In

BrE, 25 examples of this kind were found. The prevailing imperative form in these examples is *see* (14 examples), followed by *take* (five examples), *consider*, *think* (two examples each), *suppose* and *witness* (one example each). In AmE, the 22 combinations of "imperative + *for example*" show a wider range of verbs: *take* (six examples), *consider* (five examples), *see*, *suppose*, *think* (two examples each), *visit*, *look*, *assume*, *use* and *imagine* (one example each).

(8.52) *We do not know how much the attraction of students towards universities is the result of their monopoly of the degree-giving power. Suppose*, **for example**, that other types of institution than universities were given permission to award degrees, how would this affect the candidates' choices? (*LOB*, G58 39)

NPs are the third most common type of GEs with the marker *for example*, but their use follows different paths of development in the two varieties under consideration. Thus, in BrE NPs decrease in frequency from the 1960s to the 2000s (14.18% in *LOB*, 13.33% in *FLOB* and 11.57% in *AE06*), whereas in AmE they remain stable from *BROWN* for *FROWN* (from 8.67% to 8.64%) but then increase in *AE06* (11.16%). As far as the type of NPs which the GE may take, no significant difference has been identified between BrE and AmE: plural NPs occur in 61%-73% of the GEs (cf. (8.53) below, where the GE is *curious gadgets*); singular GEs are found in 27%-38% of the cases (see example (8.54), where the GE is *some mundane task*); finally, enumerations, if used at all, range from 3% to 4%, although they rise up to 12% in *AE06* (cf. (8.55)).

(8.53) *He had been the inventor of* curious gadgets, **for example** a new stirrup which was adopted by cavalry regiments. (*LOB*, G11 114)

(8.54) *Artists like Harriet Backer made a speciality of the single female figure engaged in* some mundane task (sewing, **for example**) *in a simple interior*

often bathed in transforming light effects (lamplight, sunlight diffused from a window in another room). (*FROWN*, G14 204)

(8.55) *Though an attempt was made to make this political vision the basis of a formal organization with the setting up of the Unione Sindacale Italiana in 1912, it remained essentially a diffuse current of revolutionary agitation represented by some trade-union activists and propagated in* periodicals (**for example** *Avanguardia socialista* and *Il divenire sociale*). (*FLOB*, J40 138)

The use of other syntactic forms in the GE is far more infrequent. Clauses, for instance, are used just once in AmE in the 2000s. In BrE, they are used once in the 1960s and twice in the 2000s. An example of a clausal GE is given under (8.56) below (i.e. *where capital is taken out of the trust fund*). PPs are also more common in BrE, where they are recorded twice in the 1960s, five times in the 1990s and four times in the 2000s. In turn, in AmE they are used twice in the 1960s and the 2000s, and just once in the 1990s (see example (8.57): *in exceptional circumstances*), while 11 such instances are recorded in the BrE data. Finally, AdvPs occur rather sporadically in the material: twice in the 1960s and in the 1990s in BrE, and just once in the 2000s in AmE (cf. (8.58): *occasionally*).

(8.56) Where capital is taken out of the trust fund (as, **for example**, in the exercise of the statutory power of advancement), *the trustees are not required to take it equally from the two parts of the divided fund: the Act does not fetter their discretion as to the choice of property to be taken out*. (*LOB*, J50 151)

(8.57) *Contrary to popular belief, a special licence is not one which enables a couple to marry quickly. This special licence is granted by the appropriate Bishop only* in exceptional circumstances (**for example**, when a couple wish to marry in a district where they neither live nor worship or in a place which is not licensed for marriage –a college chapel, etc.). (*LOB*, F18 127)

(8.58) *It is only* occasionally *that he gives the impression of not wanting to sound too impressed,* **as**, **for example**, when he mentions in passing the numerous (unspecified) puerilites in Lawrence's daily life and in many of his books. (*LOB*, C12 175)

As for the type of EE introduced by *for example*, there are no significant differences with regard to the GE, as Table 21 shows.

Table 21. Syntactic forms of the EE in exemplifying constructions with *for example*

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	29	20.57	57	21.11	54	22.31	140	21.44
C	4	2.84	7	2.59	7	2.89	18	2.76
AdjP	-	-	-	-	1	0.41	1	0.15
AdvP	-	-	-	-	1	0.41	1	0.15
S	86	60.99	164	60.74	159	65.70	409	62.63
PP	18	12.77	34	12.59	16	6.61	68	10.41
VP	3	2.13	6	2.22	4	1.65	13	1.99
Mix	1	0.71	2	0.74	-	-	3	0.46
TOTAL	141	100.00	270	100.00	242	100.00	653	100.00
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	30	17.34	29	11.93	35	15.02	93	14.33
C	1	0.58	5	2.06	1	0.43	7	1.08
S	122	70.52	198	81.48	169	72.53	489	75.35
PP	14	8.09	10	4.12	12	5.15	37	5.70
VP	6	3.47	1	0.41	-	-	7	1.08
Symbols	-	-	-	-	16	6.87	16	2.47
TOTAL	173	100.00	243	100.00	233	100.00	649	100.00

Sentences are also the most common type of syntactic form of the EE introduced by *for example*, and they are again more frequent in AmE than in the BrE material (75.35% vs. 62.63%). In all the corpora, sentences as EEs develop differently in the two varieties: in BrE, their frequency first slightly recedes from *LOB* to *FLOB* (from 60.99% to 60.74%) and then grows again (65.70% in *BE06*), while in AmE they first increase (from 70.52% in *BROWN* to 81.48% in *FROWN*) to decrease again in the most recent material (72.53% in *AE06*). An example of a sentential EE is given in (8.51) above.

Nominal EEs are clearly more common in BrE than in AmE. In BrE, the figures for this type of EE range from about 20% to almost 23%; in AmE, in turn, they range from about 12% to over 17%. The majority of nominal EEs occur in the singular (39%-54%), followed by enumerations (21%-48%) and by plural NPs (13%-25%). An exception is found in *FLOB*, where enumerations prevail over singular NPs. For an example of a singular EE, see (8.53) above (i.e. *a new stirrup which was adopted by cavalry regiments*).

As far as PPs are concerned, as seen above, their use in the GE was rather anecdotic, while it is more recurrent in the EE, especially in BrE. In *LOB* and *FLOB* prepositional EEs constitute almost 13% of the total number of relevant cases, whereas in the rest of the corpora the percentage ranges between 4% and 8%. For an instance of a prepositional EE, see (8.59) below. Other types of EEs include clauses (cf. (8.60) and (8.61)), AdvPs (cf. (8.62)), AdjPs (cf. (8.63)) and combinations of different syntactic forms (see (8.64) below, where four NPs co-occur with an *–ing* clause in the EE). The use of these syntactic forms is extremely scarce, in most cases even non-existent in AmE.

(8.59) *All modern wars are People's Wars, in the sense that wars are no longer fought between professional armies meeting each other in pitched battles, the names of which are later enshrined in the textbooks –one thinks,* **for example**, of the great eighteenth-century battles such as Marlborough's Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. (*FLOB*, F24 7)

(8.60) *This special licence is granted by the appropriate Bishop only* in exceptional circumstances (**for example**, when a couple wish to marry in a district where they neither live nor worship or in a place which is not licensed for marriage –a college chapel, etc.). (*LOB*, F18 126)

(8.61) *The date for final payments under the private chattels scheme was fixed at 14th July, 1947, and under the business chattels scheme at 1st October, 1953, but a certain number of claims remain unpaid* (**for example** because the claimant could not be traced) *and are thought to amount to about £1,120,000* […]. (*LOB*, H05 123)

(8.62) *But sending out warnings by email, fax or telephone* at certain times of the day, **for example**, late at night or early in the morning *might not be adequate if occupants are not alert to receive them.* (*BE06*, H20)

(8.63) *A "limit" in terms of pre-liminal variation may be thought about in common sense terms as a boundary, barrier, the end of something, and so on, that is* **for example**, visible, real, attainable or reachable *in some everyday sense.* (*BE06*, J73)

(8.64) *Practically all of them wanted,* **for example**, the surplice, the sign of the Cross in baptism, kneeling to receive the Holy Communion, the season of Lent, and the use of a ring in marriage to be abolished. (*LOB*, D05 187)

I will focus now on one type of syntactic form which has not been considered so far, namely VPs. VPs which function as EEs (13 and seven instances in the BrE and AmE data, respectively) usually follow an auxiliary or a modal verb, as shown in (8.65) below. In other words, in constructions of this kind, the EM comes in the middle of a VP. At first sight, we could think that in (8.65) the EM *for example* occurs in P2 and links two sentences, but closer inspection indicates that such interpretation is not accurate. As I see it, in instances like this the EM comes in P1 and the construction lacks a GE, which could easily be interpreted from the context ('he can *do many things*, for example present significant university-wide issues to the senate').

(8.65) *Although faculties insist on governing themselves, they grant little prestige to a member who actively participates in college or university government. There are, nevertheless, several things that the president can do to stimulate participation and to enhance the prestige of those who are willing to exercise their privilege. He can,* **for example**, present significant university-wide issues to the senate. (*BROWN*, H30 0280)

One final type of EE in the corpora is represented in (8.66) below. Here, the EE cannot be classified as belonging to any particular syntactic class because it consists in a succession of symbols. 16 examples of this kind were found in *AE06* (6.87% of the total), 15 in Category F (i.e. popular lore) and one in scientific texts (Category J).

(8.66) *Binary Literal Constants in MASM and TASM Binary literal constants in MASM/TASM consist of* one or more binary digits (0 or 1) followed by the special b suffix. **For example**: 1011b 10101111b 0011111100011001b 1011001010010101b. (*AE06*, F)

From the description offered in the previous paragraphs we can conclude that the most common type of syntactic forms in exemplifying constructions with *for example* as marker is that of sentences. The omission of the GE in exemplification with *for example* is rather common too, although it decreases in both varieties over time. NPs are also regularly used in these constructions. Other syntactic forms, such as clauses, PPs, AdvPs or AdjPs, although not very common, are also found.

Finally, Table 22 summarises how syntactic forms combine in constructions with *for example* as marker. Disregarding those constructions where the GE is elided, strict exemplification occurs in 94.69% of the total, and it typically entails the combination of two sentences (825 cases, 81.20%) or two NPs (122 cases, 12.01%). The fact that *for example* operates at the supra-sentential level by linking two sentences and the frequent omission of the GE with this form might suggest that *for example* is more advanced in

its process of grammaticalisation than *including*, and it is becoming very close to prototypical discourse or pragmatic markers.

Table 22. Combinations of syntactic forms in exemplifying constructions with *for example*

GE / EE	NP	C	PP	AdvP	Ø	S
NP	122	-	-	1	106	5
AdjP	1	-	-	-	-	-
C	8	2	1	1	12	1
PP	4	2	13	3	81	1
AdvP	-	-	1	-	-	-
S	6	-	1	-	66	825
Mix	2	-	-	-	1	-
VP	-	-	-	-	20	-
Symbols	3	-	-	-	-	13

8.4.4. Exemplifying constructions with for instance

Exemplifying constructions with *for instance* follow different paths of development in BrE and AmE. The data in Table 23 below highlight these differences.

Let us start by considering sentential GEs like that illustrated in (8.67) below. Overall, the total number of sentences in the GE is exactly the same in both varieties, 115, but the percentages reveal that they are proportionally more common in AmE (74.68%) than in BrE (53.49%). In fact, in the American variety sentences become more popular across time (65.38% in *BROWN*, 76.09% in *FROWN* and 82.14% in *AE06*),

whereas their use fluctuates in BrE not showing any definite tendency (55.43% in *LOB*, 51.81% in *FLOB* and 52.50% in *BE06*).

Table 23. Syntactic forms of the GE in exemplifying constructions with *for instance*

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	12	13.04	20	24.10	7	17.50	39	18.14
C	2	2.17	-	-	1	2.50	3	1.40
Ø	26	28.26	20	24.10	10	25.00	56	26.05
AdvP	1	1.09	-	-	-	-	1	0.47
S	51	55.43	43	51.81	21	52.50	115	53.49
PP	-	-	-	-	1	2.50	1	0.47
TOTAL	92	100.00	83	100.00	40	100.00	215	100.00
AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	11	21.15	8	17.39	4	7.14	23	14.94
C	1	1.92	-	-	-	-	1	0.65
Ø	5	9.62	3	6.52	6	10.71	14	9.09
S	34	65.38	35	76.09	46	82.14	115	74.68
PP	1	1.92	-	-	-	-	1	0.65
TOTAL	52	100.00	46	100.00	56	100.00	154	100.00

(8.67) All the murders were well documented and had the air of being written by an ingenious, but mad film director of the Thirties. They mostly occurred in lonely farm-houses. Monsieur H, **for instance**, had been clubbed and

> throttled to death by his wife, children and father-in-law, after muddling up some sheep while the worse for drink. (*LOB*, R06 57)

As for the omission of the GE (cf. (8.68)), it has never been frequent in AmE, and in both varieties it declines in the 1990s and recovers again in the 2000s (28.26% in *LOB*, 24.10% in *FLOB* and 25% in *BE06* vs. 9.62% in *BROWN*, 6.52% in *FROWN* and 10.71% in *AE06*).

(8.68) *I should have liked it much better if Alison had spoken up, if she had said* **for instance** that Vittorio was a bore. (*LOB*, N13 167)

The use of NPs in the GE is in decline in AmE (from 21.15% of the total number of examples in the 1960s to 7.14% in the 2000s). In BrE, in turn, NPs do not show any clear tendency (13.04% in *LOB*, 24.10% in *FLOB* and 17.50% in *BE06*). The preference to use plural NPs in the GE identified above for the marker *for example* (cf. 8.4.3) is not so strong when the EM is *for instance*. Only in *LOB* plural NPs are clearly more common (75% of the nominal GEs are inflected for the plural). In the rest of the corpora, plural GEs are found in just 50%-57% of the relevant constructions, and in *AE06* singular NPs take the lead (75% of the nominal GEs occur in the singular in this corpus). Finally, as shown in Table 23 above, the use of other syntactic forms (PPs, AdvPs –cf. example (8.69) below: *elsewhere*– and clauses) as GE is unusual.

(8.69) Elsewhere, *however*, **as** in Leicester, **for instance**, *the land really has dried out, and the arable was mostly in tilth by the middle of March.* (*LOB*, E15 86)

As regards the different syntactic forms which the EE introduced by *for instance* may take, they also develop differently in BrE and AmE. Consider the figures in Table 24.

Table 24. Syntactic forms of the EE in exemplifying constructions with *for instance*

BrE								
	LOB		***FLOB***		***BE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	12	13.04	20	24.10	11	27.50	42	19.53
C	1	1.09	4	4.82	2	5.00	7	3.26
AdjP	-	-	1	1.20	-	-	1	0.47
S	71	77.17	49	59.04	24	60.00	144	66.98
PP	8	8.70	8	9.64	3	7.50	19	8.84
VP	-	-	1	1.20	-	-	1	0.47
TOTAL	92	100.00	83	100.00	40	100.00	215	100.00

Sentences, NPs and, to a lesser extent PPs, are the only forms recurrently used with this marker in the two varieties. In BrE, sentences decrease across time (from 77.17% of the total in the 1960s to 60% in the 2000s), whereas in AmE the tendency is the opposite: 69.23% in *BROWN*, 76.09% in *FROWN* and 85.71% in *AE06*. In turn, the use of NPs develops differently in the two varieties: they increase in BrE (13.04% in *LOB*, 24.10% in *FLOB* and 27.50% in *BE06*) but decrease in AmE (19.23% in *BROWN*, 15.22% in

Table 24. Syntactic forms of the EE in exemplifying constructions with *for instance* (cont.)

AmE								
	BROWN		***FROWN***		***AE06***		**TOTAL**	
	Tokens	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**
NP	10	19.23	7	15.22	5	8.93	22	14.29
C	1	1.92	-	-	1	1.79	2	1.30
AdjP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S	36	69.23	35	76.09	48	85.71	119	77.27
PP	4	7.69	3	6.52	2	3.57	9	5.84
VP	1	1.92	1	2.17	-	-	2	1.30
TOTAL	52	100.00	46	100.00	56	100.00	154	100.00

FROWN and 8.93% in *AE06*). Singular NPs are the most common type of nominal EEs (50%-80%), except in *LOB* (33%), followed by enumerations (20%-42%). However, no enumeration was found in the EE in *FROWN*, and neither were plural EEs in *BE06*, *BROWN* and *AE06*. In the other corpora, plural EEs range from 10%-43%. The rest of syntactic forms found in this position (e.g. PPs –cf. (8.70) below: *among the Pre-Raphaelites*–, AdjPs, clauses and VPs) are scarce.

(8.70) *This is not just the kind of home sickness for simpler ways which we have seen already,* among the Pre-Raphaelites **for instance**. (*LOB*, F34 134)

In short, in exemplifying constructions with *for instance* as marker the GE and the EE are mainly sentences. In BrE, the use of sentences fluctuates from one period to the next, but in AmE it slowly increases. The omission of the GE has never been usual in AmE, and it is in decline in the British variety. Except for NPs, other syntactic forms

have never been common in constructions with *for instance* as marker. Moreover, although the general tendency with the four EMs analysed in this chapter is for nominal GEs to be inflected for the plural and for nominal EEs to occur in the singular, such distinction is not so marked with this EM.

Before closing this section, let us consider how syntactic forms combine in exemplification with *for instance*. Consider in this respect Table 25.

Table 25. Combinations of syntactic forms in exemplifying constructions with *for instance*

GE / EE	NP	C	PP	AdvP	Ø	S
NP	45	-	-	-	20	-
AdjP	-	-	-	-	1	-
C	5	1	-	-	2	1
PP	6	2	2	1	16	1
S	6	1	-	-	28	228
VP	-	-	-	-	3	-

The figures in this table reveal a similar picture for constructions with *for instance* as EM and those seen in Section 8.4.3 for the marker *for example*. Here, disregarding those cases where the GE is omitted, strict exemplification is found in 92.31% of the instances. Sentences (76.25%) and NPs (15.05%) are the most popular combinations in strict exemplification. Again, the type of units which this EM usually links (i.e. sentences) and the relatively frequent omission of the GE suggest that *for instance*, just like *for example*, is also rather advanced in its process of grammaticalisation and it may be acquiring a usage which does not differ significantly from that of discourse markers.

8.4.5. Summary

The corpus-based analysis of the various types of syntactic forms which occur in exemplifying constructions with the four selected markers reveals the deep differences existing between those constructions with *including* and *included* as EMs, on the one hand, and those constructions with *for example* and *for instance*, on the other. Generally speaking, *including* and *included* link almost exclusively nominal elements, in such a way that these constructions are semantically and syntactically similar to sentences where the verb *include* takes a DO. In turn, sequences with *for example* and *for instance* tend to link a wider variety of syntactic forms, especially sentences. The omission of the GE is quite common with *for example* and, to a lesser extent, with *for instance* too. In view of this, we can conclude that *for example* and *for instance* are far more grammaticalised as EMs than *including* and *included*. Indeed, whereas the former often behave like discourse markers as they operate at the supra-sentential level, the latter remain rather close in usage to their source form, i.e. the verb *include*. Yet, NPs are also quite common in exemplification with *for example* and *for instance*. In addition, a tendency has been identified for NPs in the GE to be in the plural, whereas nominal EEs tend to occur in the singular or to contain an enumeration. Other types of syntactic forms, such as PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs or clauses, are only occasionally found.

8.5. Syntactic function of the exemplifying constructions in the corpus

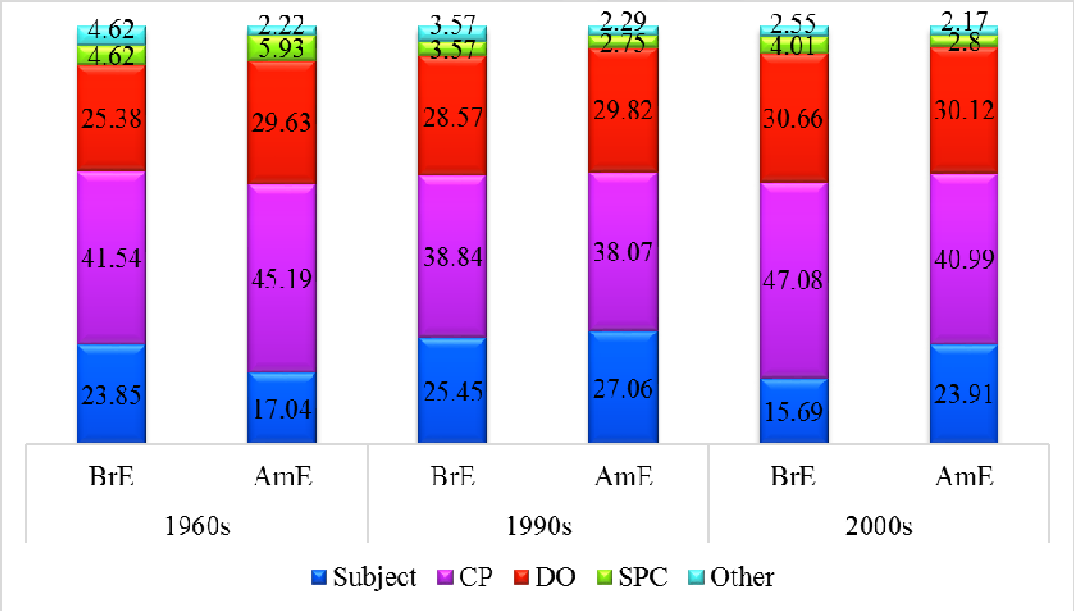
The syntactic function carried out by an exemplifying construction is largely determined by the syntactic form of its units. Thus, given that significant differences have been

found in the preceding section between exemplification with *including* and *included*, on the one hand, and exemplification with *for example* and *for instance*, on the other, important differences are also expected to exist between the syntactic functions fulfilled by these two sets of EMs. This is the focus of the sections that follow.

8.5.1. Syntactic function of exemplifying constructions with including *and* included

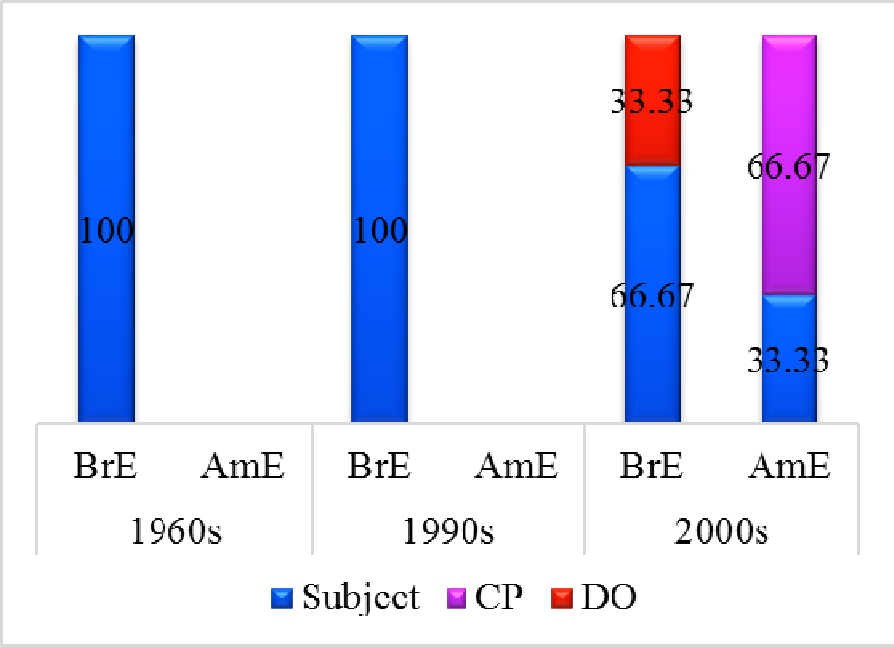
As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the great majority of the syntactic functions carried out by exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* are functions typically associated with NPs, as Figures 11 and 12 below show.

Figure 11. Syntactic functions of exemplifying constructions with *including*[81]



[81] For the sake of clarity, those functions which are not recurrently used in the corpora have been grouped under the label *Other*.

Figure 12. Syntactic functions of exemplifying constructions with *included*



In both varieties, the most common syntactic function of exemplifying constructions with *including* is that of CP (cf. (8.71) and (8.72)). In such a function, exemplification with *including* follows a very similar development in BrE and AmE: it first decreases in the 1990s and then increases again in the 2000s, when it clearly becomes more common in the British variety (41.54% in *LOB*, 38.44% in *FLOB* and 47.08% in *BE06* vs. 45.19% in *BROWN*, 38.07% in *FROWN* and 40.99% in *AE06*).

(8.71) *Invitations have been extended to* some Austin dignitaries **including** Gov. and Mrs. Price Daniel. (*BROWN*, A29 1700)

(8.72) "*It was a sad parting of the ways for* many, myself **included**", *he wrote*. (*AE06*, E)

At the sentence level, DO, subject and SPC are the most common functions for exemplification with *including*. In the two varieties under analysis, the use of exemplifying structures as DO gradually increases from the 1960s (25.38% in *LOB* and 29.63% in *BROWN*) to the 2000s (30.66% in *BE06* and 30.12% in *AE06*), although such

increment is subtle in the American variety. An instance of exemplification as DO is given in (8.73) below. In turn, their use as subject (as illustrated in (8.74) below) peaks in the two varieties in the 1990s and then falls again (23.85% in *LOB*, 25.45% in *FLOB* and 15.69% in *BE06* vs. 17.04% in *BROWN*, 27.06% in *FROWN* and 23.91% in *AE06*). As for the use of these constructions as SPC (cf. example (8.75)), they fluctuate between about 3% and 6% of the total.

(8.73) *The third [production house], Offhollywood Digital, handled* postproduction, **including** color correction, special effects, and sound editing. (*AE06*, E)

(8.74) *In the middle of the 19th century,* western and northern Europeans, **including** more than 5 million Irish and Germans, *dominated the influx to the United States.* (*AE06*, J)

(8.75) *This opened the way for the development to begin but, as will be seen later, there were still* several difficulties *to be overcome* **including** worries abut<sic> the legality of the action being taken. (*FLOB*, G51 147)

Occasionally, exemplifying constructions with *including* can also realise other syntactic functions, though only sporadically, since they occur just once or twice per corpora (if they occur at all). These minor syntactic functions are:

- indirect object (IO; cf. (8.76) below)
- manner adjunct (cf. example (8.77))
- second term in a comparison (cf. (8.78))
- EE (i.e. they function as an exemplifying construction within the EE of another exemplifying construction, as in (8.79))
- modifier of a noun (as in (8.41) above, repeated below for convenience as (8.80)).

(8.76) *She told* everybody *what to do and what not to,* **including** the man of the house […]. (*FROWN*, G74 94)

(8.77) *No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted* in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, **including** photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. (*BE06*, L14)

(8.78) *The desk before him was in no better repair than* the rest of the furniture crowded into the room, **including** wooden file cabinets with some of their pulls yanked off and a wardrobe stained with the roof seepage of countless seasons. (*BROWN*, L17 0360)

(8.79) *There was his special 'lunatic' friend Lawrence Langner and the directors, designers and performers of the Theatre Guild of New York; writers, too, such as the pro-Soviet novelist Upton Sinclair and the pro-German poet George Sylvester Viereck, as well as his continuous biographer Archibald Henderson; and* a generous lobby of correspondents **including** Henry Neil, a Chicago judge, who regularly published Shaw's answers to his unusual queries (What would he do if he were a woman? What difference would being hatched in an incubator have made to his life?) until, his excitement rising in this year of Shaw's arrival, he was confined to a mental institute. (*FLOB*, G13 79)

(8.80) = (8.41) *They also run short courses for* special (**including** vocational) *interest*. (*FLOB*, H21 163)

In turn, when the EM is *included*, the most common function is that of subject (cf. (8.81) below). There is one example of this kind in *LOB*, three in *FLOB* and three in *BE06*, as well as one further instance in *AE06*. Functions other than subject are found in *AE06*, where two instances of exemplification with *included* realise the CP function (see (8.82)).

(8.81) So many people *were lost to us*, my own parents **included**, *in circumstances I cannot to this day bear to think about.* (*FLOB*, N26 64)

(8.82) *It was a sad parting of the ways for* many, myself **included**. (*AE06*, E)

In short, exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* as EMs carry out almost exclusively nominal syntactic functions, especially those of CP, DO and subject. This is due to the fact that NP is the syntactic form which the units in exemplifying constructions with these two markers normally take (cf. Sections 8.4.1

and 8.4.2 above). The use of the exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* in other functions (such as SPC or manner adjunct) is scarce.

8.5.2. Syntactic function of exemplifying constructions with for example *and* for instance

Exemplifying constructions where *for example* and *for instance* are used as markers can carry out a wider range of syntactic functions than those with the markers *including* and *included*. Consider Figures 13 and 14 below.

Figure 13. Syntactic functions of exemplifying constructions with *for example*

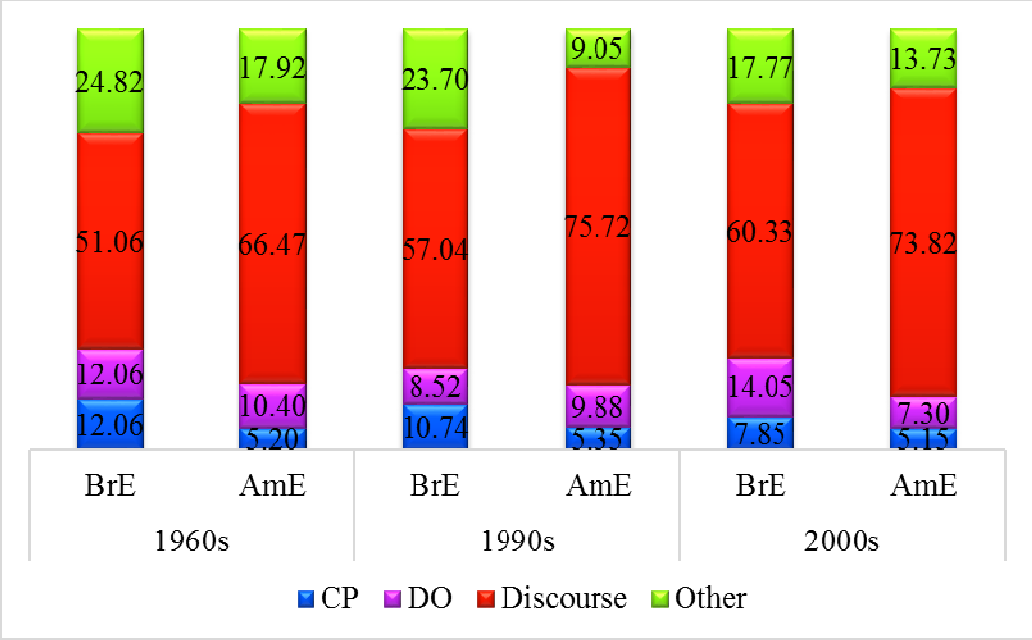
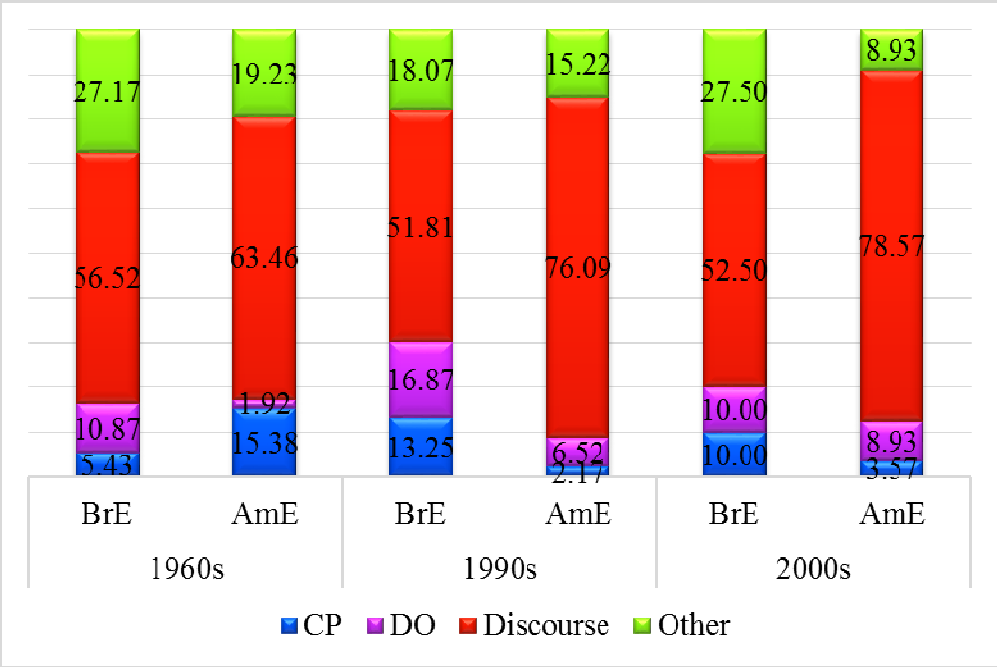


Figure 14. Syntactic functions of exemplifying constructions with *for instance*



As already mentioned in Sections 6.1.2, 6.1.3, 7.2.1.3 and 7.2.1.4, the most common units linked by means of the EMs *for example* and *for instance* are sentences, as in examples (8.83) and (8.84) below. In these instances, the whole extracts constitute the exemplifying sequences and the EMs are not too different in their function from discourse markers. In this piece of research, exemplifying constructions of this kind have been classified as having a discursive function: they do not operate at the phrasal or sentential levels, but they constitute whole chunks of discourse. The discursive function of exemplifying constructions with *for example* is more common in AmE than in BrE with both *for example* and *for instance*. Except for exemplification with *for instance* in BrE which decreases slightly over time, the discursive function of these constructions increases from the 1960s to the 2000s.

(8.83) The grammatical possibilities of the German language were fully exploited in what came to be known as the 'Nazi-Deutsch'. **For example**, the Nazi adjective for an area whose Jewish inhabitants were either deported, killed, or sent to death camps was Judenfrei (or Judenrein), which became a

commonplace word. It was as if the very currency of the word made the condition it envisaged necessary and legitimate! (*FROWN*, G11 178)

(8.84) "You're having a miserable time, aren't you? Use all the lotion you want, and for goodness' sake, stay in out of the sun for a couple of days". This was a very warm, sympathetic girl, he decided. Sympathy is a fine quality in a woman. Now Vivian, **for instance**, was not too long on sympathy. She felt, and said, that sympathy only made people feel sorry for themselves; it was a tough world, and you had to be tough to hold your own. (*BROWN*, P23 1600)

Instances of exemplifying constructions used as DO are rather common too. The diachronic development of this function, which is more frequent in BrE, differs from one to the other variety. In AmE, it decreases in frequency with *for example* (10.40% in *BROWN*, 9.88% in *FROWN* and 7.30% in *AE06*) and it increases with *for instance* (1.92% in *BROWN*, 6.52% in *FROWN* and 8.93% in *AE06*). In BrE, in turn, there is fluctuation with both markers (*for example*: 12.06% in *LOB*, 8.52% in *FLOB* and 14.05% in *BE06*; *for instance*: 10.87% in *LOB*, 16.87% in *FLOB* and 10% in *BE06*). A typical instance of an exemplifying construction used as DO is given in (8.85) below, where the GE is omitted and the EE functions as the DO of the VP *says*.

(8.85) *When someone says*, **for example**, "They took X rays to see that there was nothing wrong with me", *it pays to consider how this statement would normally be made*. (*BROWN*, F01 1820)

Overall, exemplifying constructions used as CP are more common in BrE with both *for example* and *for instance*, except in the 1960s, when exemplifying constructions with *for instance* prevail in the American variety. In BrE, this syntactic function becomes less frequent across time with *for example* (12.06% in *LOB*, 10.74% in *FLOB* and 7.85% in *BE06*), but it fluctuates with *for instance* (5.43% in *LOB*, 13.25% in *FLOB* and 10% in *BE06*). In AmE, the frequency of such constructions is about 5% in the three subperiods with *for example*, while with *for instance* there is a

clear fall in the 1990s (from 15.38% in *BROWN* to 2.17% in *FROWN*) and then the function recovers slightly in the 2000s (3.57% in *AE06*). When an exemplifying construction is used as a CP, it usually occurs in sequences where the GE is omitted, as in (8.86) below. In this example, the NP *Behn's use of the first person plural* is the EE. It comes after the preposition *by*, and it does not refer back to a GE overtly mentioned in the preceding part of the sentence, although a GE like *certain traits* can be easily deduced.

(8.86) *A female reader is constructed within the text, by*, **for instance**, Behn's use of the first person plural, *which is not the authorial 'we' and contrasts sharply with the narrator's jauntily individualistic 'I', but which implies a female reader and a sympathetic complicity between her and the author.* (*FLOB*, J63 174)

In addition to the functions just considered, exemplifying constructions with *for example* and *for instance* perform a considerable number of minor functions, some of which are just recorded once in the corpora. The full list of functions is the following:

- subject
- IO
- SPC
- modifier of a noun
- verb complement (VC)
- adjuncts (time, place, manner –cf. (8.87)[82]– or reason –cf. (8.88))
- agent (see example (8.89))
- predicate (cf. (8.90))

[82] Most of these functions have already been illustrated in Section 8.5.1 above. For this reason, only examples of those functions which are now mentioned for the first time are provided.

- EE
- second term in a comparison.

(8.87) *A notice to quit may name the exact day for the termination of the tenancy, or it may be expressed* generally; **for example**, by such words as "at the expiration of the year of your tenancy, which will expire next after the end of one half year from the service of this notice". (*LOB*, J48 3)

(8.88) *The date for final payments under the private chattels scheme was fixed at 14th July, 1947, and under the business chattels scheme at 1st October, 1953, but a certain number of claims remain unpaid* (**for example** because the claimant could not be traced) *and are thought to amount to about £1,120,000 plus accrued interest at two and a half per cent*. (*LOB*, H05 123)

(8.89) *It is now accepted on all sides that Britain needs more of its workforce to be vocationally trained to intermediate levels; that is to say, to craft or technician standards as represented*, **for example**, by City and Guilds examinations (at part 2) or BTEC National Certificates and Diplomas. (*FLOB*, J47 26)

(8.90) *Such a map would*, **for instance**, colour all limestone outcrops under the same shade. (*LOB*, J02 43)

To sum up, the majority of exemplifying constructions with *for example* and *for instance* as markers carry out a discursive function. This coincides with the clear tendency for both GE and EE with these two markers to be sentences (see Sections 8.4.3. and 8.4.4 above). Functions like DO and CP are rather common too, while other functions are only sporadically found in the material analysed.

8.6. Punctuation: Integrated vs. non-integrated exemplifying constructions

One of the defining traits of exemplifying constructions is their non-restrictive character (cf. Section 3.3.6 above), that is, the EE never delimits the meaning of the GE: it only explains on it or clarifies it by means of an example. Nevertheless, exemplifying constructions can be either integrated or non-integrated. Even though most

exemplifying constructions are non-integrated, when the EM is *including* they can at times be integrated too. Often, punctuation helps to identify a given construction as either integrated or non-integrated, since pauses in speech are habitually reflected in writing by means of some kind of punctuation mark. However, this is not always so. In the two subsections that follow, I first describe the use of punctuation with the different markers discussed in this dissertation (see Section 8.6.1), and then I consider the integrated or non-integrated status of the constructions under analysis (cf. Section 8.6.2).

8.6.1. Use of punctuation with the different EMs

The use of punctuation is not systematic in the exemplifying constructions with the four selected EMs in the different corpora. Although some tendencies can be identified for each marker, on occasions punctuation seems to be inconsistent, as in (8.91) below, where the lack of punctuation adds a certain degree of difficulty on the sentence's comprehension. For an easier understanding, the EE and the EM should be separated from the rest of the sequence by dashes or some other punctuation mark: *people (Sharon Osbourne, for instance) who are on TV*.

(8.91) *Now they seem to have become the default format for* people Sharon Osbourne, **for instance** *who are on TV anyway, yet seem compelled to find ways of being on it even more*. (*BE06*, C08)

Systematic use of punctuation in the corpora is only found with *included*. No pause is ever made before this marker in the material analysed, but it is always present after it, represented as a comma (cf. (8.92)), a full stop (cf. (8.93)) or a dash (cf. (8.94)).

(8.92) Experienced speakers, politicians **included**, *often do read speeches, but they still manage to make them sound as it*<sic> *they are just speaking from notes*. (*FLOB*, F03 72)

(8.93) *The main thing is that everyone should go to one or other of the launches. Not just the ecumaniacs or the Evangelicals but* all, Prayer Book Society **included**. (*FLOB*, D11 35)

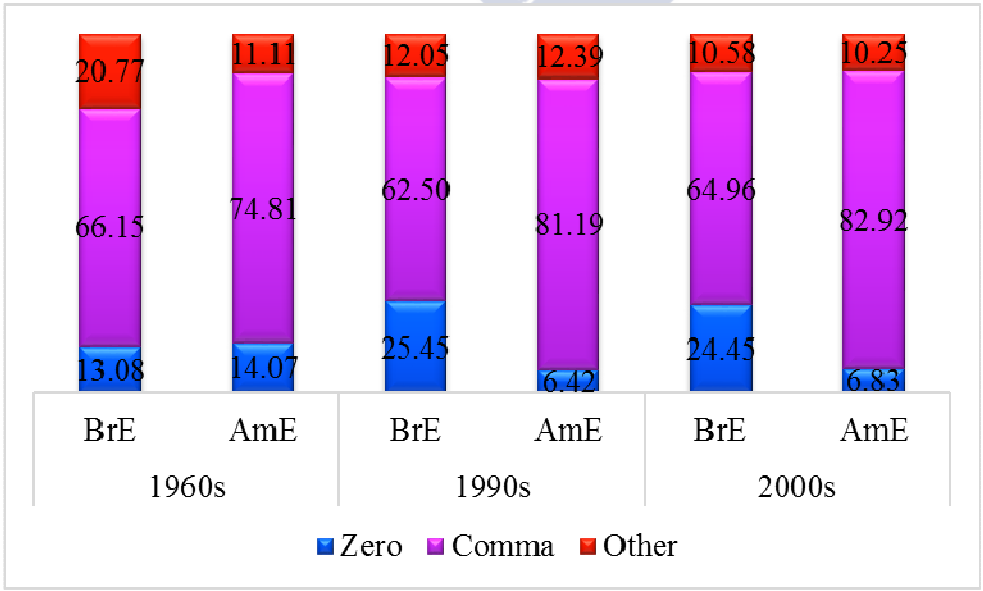
(8.94) *What makes this story of sociopathic bureaucracy a particular favourite is that nobody was the richer. Indeed, it can be argued that* everyone *that Her Majesty's Customs and Excise dragged into this debacle was poorer,* themselves **included**– *the administration involved in chasing payment and then passing around £8,050 is not a trifling matter and the whole affair contributed precisely nothing to the Treasury's coffers*. (*BE06*, R2)

The use of punctuation with the remaining three EMs is much more complex and requires a more careful and detailed analysis. In what follows, the system of punctuation used with *including*, *for example* and *for instance* is described.

8.6.1.1. Punctuation with including

Figure 15 below shows how the use of punctuation before *including* has developed from the 1960s to the 2000s in BrE and AmE.

Figure 15. Punctuation before *including*



In most of the examples analysed, *including* is preceded by a pause. As an average, the use of an intonational break before *including* is more common in AmE (in 92% of the total number of examples a pause is represented) than in BrE (78% of the total). As a matter of fact, while the lack of punctuation is always rare in AmE and it falls from 14.07% in the 1960s to just about 6% in the two following subperiods, it steadily becomes more common in BrE, though it slightly recedes in the 2000s (from 13.08% in the 1960s to 25.45% in the 1990s and 24.45% in the 2000s). An example with no pause before *including* is given under (8.95) below. When the pause is reproduced in writing, a comma is the preferred option (cf. example (8.96)). Its use increases across time in the American variety (74.81% in *BROWN*, 81.19% in *FROWN* and 82.92% in *AE06*), but no clear tendency is followed in BrE, where as an average it is used in about 65% of the examples in any of the subperiods analysed. Other types of punctuation found (although much more rarely) include dashes (cf. example (8.97)), brackets, semi-colons, ellipsis and even full stops. The use of strong punctuation marks like full stops is surprising, given that the EE with *including* does not tend to be self-sufficient or independent enough to constitute a unit on its own. Interestingly, most of the examples where *including* follows a full stop correspond to fictional text-types,[83] where direct speech mingles with the narrator's words, as in (8.98) below.

(8.95) *They modelled clothes from* high street shops **including** Miss Selfridge and Peacocks *who donated clothes for the show, as well as the foundation's own clothing range, Live42Day*. (*BE06*, A15)

(8.96) Problems more common in other systems, **including** cannibalism, *affect fewer birds and can be avoided by good management*. (*FLOB*, E37 195)

(8.97) *In the Industrial Products Division, the company manufactures and markets a wide line of precision gaging and inspection equipment,* machinists' tools

[83] See Section 8.7 below for a discussion of the use of exemplification in different text-types.

–**including** micrometers, Vernier calipers, and accessories. (*BROWN*, H26 1850)

(8.98) *"It's brought* everyone else *bad luck"*. **Including** Magda Rousseau, *Lacey thought.* (*AE06*, L)

On the contrary, punctuation after *including* is almost non-existent: about 98% of the examples in both varieties contain no punctuation mark at all after *including*. When a punctuation mark is used, two main reasons may justify its presence in the construction. First, some material unconnected with the exemplifying construction may intervene between the EM and the EE, as in (8.99) below, where one of the subjectivity markers discussed in Section 8.1 above –namely *I hope*– follows the marker, or in (8.32) above, repeated here as (8.100), where the narrator's discourse –*Tess proudly pointed out, as though she had put it there herself*– interrupts the exemplifying sequence. Second, *including* may be followed by a colon which introduces an enumeration, as shown in (8.101) below.

(8.99) *I am sure that* all the technical aspects *will be considered,* **including**, *I hope*, some examination of the microphones which we had before and which seemed to be satisfactory. (*LOB*, H19 196)

(8.100) = (8.32) *The Miami River, with its drawbridge and boat traffic, was to my left, the hotel's Olympic-size pool, surrounded by blue-and-white-striped cabanas, gleamed invitingly below, and to the right was* a portion of Miami skyline, **including**, *Tess proudly pointed out, as though she had put it there herself,* the top of the Star building, where I would start work tomorrow. (*AE06*, K)

(8.101) *The answers to these questions can only be established through the triangulation of results from* a range of methods, **including**: sophisticated video observation methods which focus on the verbal and the non-verbal; recorded lessons where the focus can be (simultaneously) upon the teacher, individual students, all students, or groups of students; Stimulated Recall interviews with students and teachers which might probe some of the participants' understandings of such interaction; and sequential analysis of observational data to establish patterns in classroom interaction which are not apparent from frequency and duration data. (*BE06*, J55)

8.6.1.2. Punctuation with for example *and* for instance

In exemplifying constructions with *for example* and *for instance* as markers, the use of punctuation is more complex. As shown in Figures 16 to 19 below, important similarities are detected between the two varieties under analysis. Let us start by looking at how punctuation is used before these two EMs.

Figure 16. Punctuation before *for example*

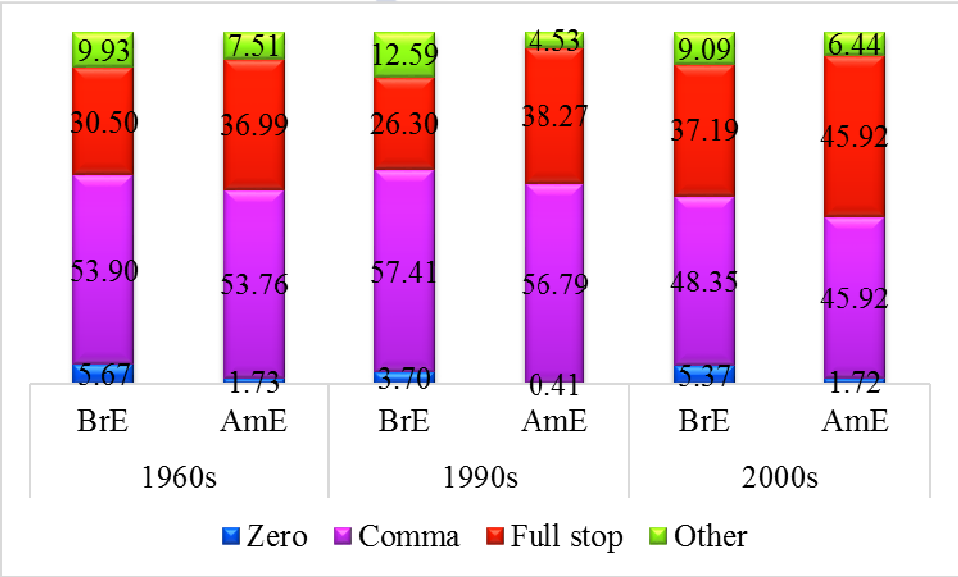
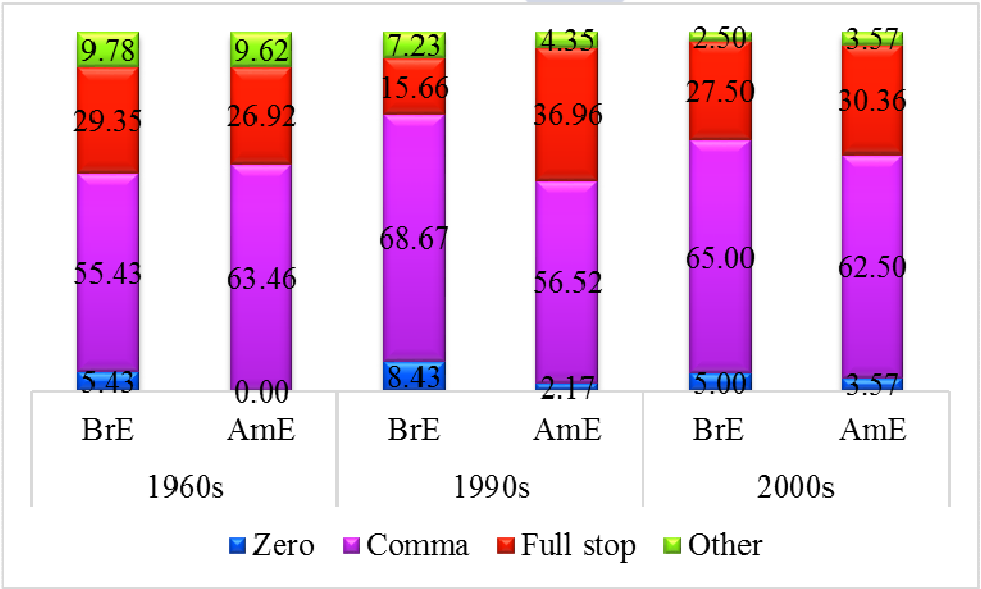


Figure 17. Punctuation before *for instance*



As shown in Figures 16 and 17, lack of punctuation before these markers is, though scarce, more common in BrE (overall, 5% of the examples have no punctuation before the EM when the marker is *for example* and 7% when the marker is *for instance*) than in AmE (omission of punctuation only takes place in 1% of the relevant cases with *for example* and in 2% when the marker is *for instance*). When punctuation is used, it tends to be either a full stop or a comma. In BrE, the use of commas before *for example* and *for instance* first rises in the 1990s and then diminishes again in the 2000s (*for example*: from 53.90% of the total in the 1960s to 57.41% in the 1990s and 48.35% in the 2000s; *for instance*: from 55.43% to 68.67% and finally 65%). The use of full stops in this variety follows exactly the opposite trend: they first drop in the 1990s and then recover in the 2000s (*for example*: 30.50% of the cases in the 1960s, 26.30% in the 1990s and 37.19% in the 2000s; *for instance*: from 29.35% of the total in the 1960s to 15.66% in the 1990s and 27.50% in the 2000s). In AmE, however, no clear tendency has been identified for the development of either commas or full stops (they fluctuate from one period to the next), except for full stops before *for example*, where the tendency is always on the increase (from 36.99% of the total in the 1960s to 38.27% in the 1990s and 45.92 in the 2000s). Additional punctuation marks which are also possible before these EMs are dashes, brackets, colons, semi-colons and question marks.

Let us focus now on punctuation after the two EMs at issue in this section.

Figure 18. Punctuation after *for example*

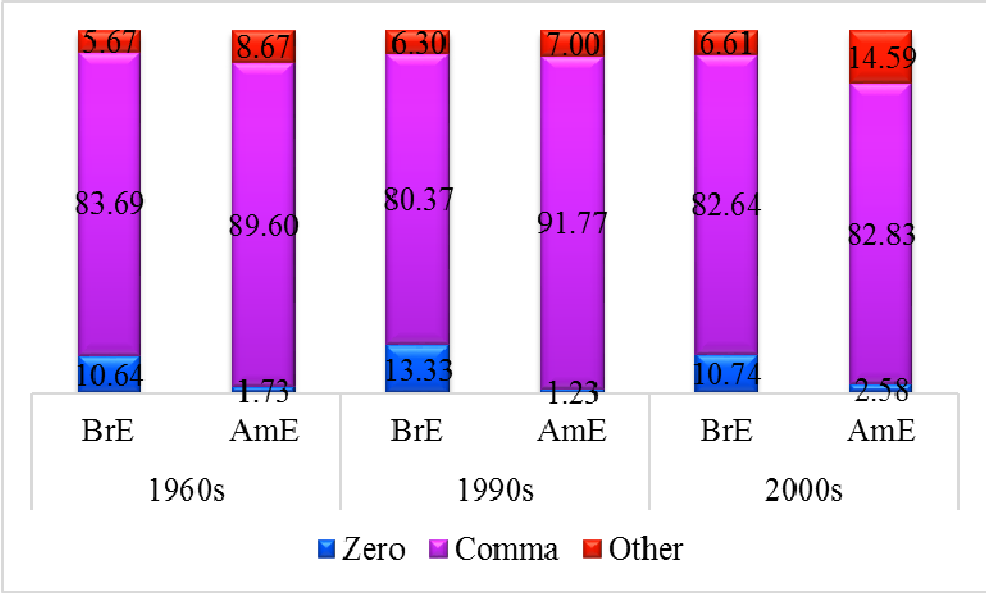
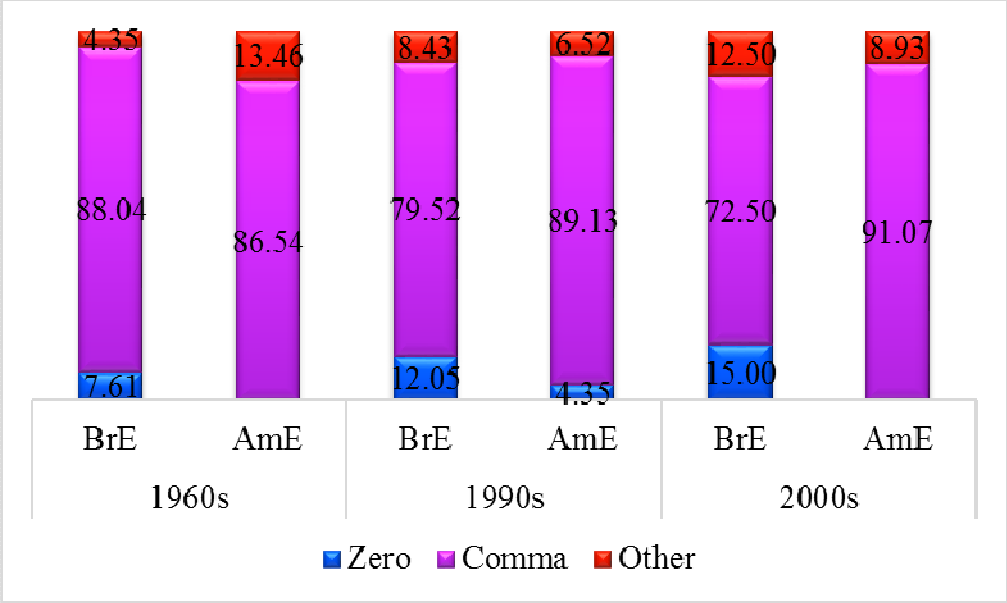


Figure 19. Punctuation after *for instance*



Again, punctuation is more frequently omitted after the EM in BrE (as an average, no pause is represented in 11% of the examples in this variety) than in AmE, where only 1%-4% of the examples do not have any punctuation mark after the EM, and even in two of the American corpora (namely *BROWN* and *FROWN*) punctuation is always present after *for instance*. The only punctuation mark which is recurrently used after

these two markers is the comma. The use of commas follows exactly opposing trends in the two varieties. After *for example*, their use falls in the 1990s and then recovers in the 2000s in BrE (from 83.69% of the total in *LOB* to 80.37% in *FLOB* and 82.64% in *BE06*), whereas in the American variety it is the 1990s when their use peaks (from 89.60% in *BROWN* to 91.77% in *FROWN* and 82.83% in *AE06*). Concerning *for instance*, the use of commas steadily decreases in BrE (from 88.04% in *LOB* to 79.52% in *FLOB* and 72.50% in *BE06*) but increases in AmE (from 86.54% in *BROWN* to 89.13% in *FROWN* and 91.07% in *AE06*). Other types of punctuation after *for example* and *for instance*, namely dashes, brackets, colons, question marks and exclamation marks, are almost non-existent in the material.

8.6.1.3. Summary

From the analysis of punctuation in the corpora we can draw one major conclusion: there are no fixed rules for the use of punctuation in exemplifying sequences in the recent history of English. However, some general tendencies can be distinguished for each marker. With *including*, a pause is usually made before the marker but hardly ever after it, whereas with *included* the situation is exactly the opposite: a pause never precedes the EM but always follows it. In turn, *for example* and *for instance* tend to be delimited by pauses in most occurrences, especially by commas. Before these EMs, stronger pauses (represented by full stops) are fairly frequent too. The fact that these two markers frequently occur in their own tone unit is one further condition which contributes to the analysis of these forms as coming close to discourse markers.

8.6.2. Integrated vs. non-integrated constructions

We have just seen that the use of punctuation in exemplifying constructions is rather inconsistent. In the corpora, all integrated exemplifying constructions show no punctuation mark before the EM; however, the fact that no punctuation is represented before the EM does not necessarily mean that the construction at issue is integrated. For example, in (8.95) above no pause is represented before *including*, but the construction is nevertheless non-integrated. In the corpus material, 15 examples of integrated constructions are found. In all such cases, the EM is *including*. Most of these examples have the same structure: "preposition + plural generic noun + *including*", as in (8.102) and (8.103) below.

(8.102) *Civil society voices should engage in dialogue about how we can best offer solidarity to Iranian-led campaigns, on* issues **including** press freedom and the rights of all candidates to be allowed to contest fair elections. (*BE06*, F28)

(8.103) *She has launched a campaign against the toy makers responsible for* items **including** a junior pole-dancing kit, thongs for young girls emblazoned with the phrase 'Eye candy' and stationery sets stamped with the bunny logo of Hugh Hefner's Playboy empire. (*BE06*, C17)

In (8.102), *press freedom and the rights of all candidates to be allowed to contest fair elections* is an example of *issues*. In (8.103), *a junior pole-dancing kit, thongs for young girls emblazoned with the phrase 'Eye candy' and stationery sets stamped with the bunny logo of Hugh Hefner's Playboy empire* is an example of *items*. In both cases, the exemplifying construction is integrated but non-restrictive in meaning. In sequences of this kind, *including* behaves very similarly to the EMs *like* or *such as*. Interestingly, most of these occurrences where the EE is integrated belong to the *BE06* corpus (nine out of 15 examples). In *FROWN*, integrated EEs occur twice, and the remaining corpora

show one occurrence of such structures each. The use of integrated constructions seems to be restricted to rather formal text-types: all the relevant examples in the corpora occur in Categories A, C, E, F, H and J. Section 8.7 below offers a detailed analysis of exemplifying constructions in the different text-types represented in the corpora.

8.7. Exemplifying constructions in different text-types

The data analysed for the present piece of research reveal that the degree of formality of the text conditions the use of exemplifying constructions in contemporary English. In this section, a quantitative analysis of the use of each marker in different text-types is provided, taking diachronic and dialectal variation into account (cf. Section 8.7.1). Then, the reasons why exemplification is more common in some text-types than in others are discussed (see Section 8.7.2).

8.7.1. A quantitative analysis of EMs in different text-types

Consider Table 26 below for the EM *including*, where the data are organised according to the division into 15 text-types proposed by the compilers of the *BROWN*-family of corpora.[84]

[84] For the sake of clarity, the list of text-types provided in Section 5.2.3 above is repeated here: A: Press-Reportage; B: Press-Editorial; C: Press-Review; D: Religion; E: Skills, trades and hobbies; F: Popular lore; G: Belles lettres, biographies, essays; H: Miscellaneous; J: Science; K: General fiction; L: Mystery and detective fiction; M: Science fiction; N: Adventure and western; P: Romance and love story; R: Humour.

Table 26. Exemplification with *including* in different text-types[85]

CATEGORIES	BrE				AmE			
	1960s	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**	**1960s**	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**
A	16.92	11.61	14.60	14.01	17.04	16.06	15.22	15.85
B	5.38	7.14	3.65	5.25	7.41	6.88	7.76	7.41
C	3.08	3.13	2.19	2.71	5.19	2.75	4.35	4.00
D	3.85	1.34	2.55	2.39	1.48	2.75	4.35	3.26
E	10.00	10.27	10.22	10.19	5.93	7.80	8.70	7.85
F	7.69	11.61	8.03	9.24	12.59	8.26	4.66	7.41
G	14.62	16.96	12.77	14.65	12.59	12.84	10.25	11.56
H	17.69	19.20	19.34	18.95	14.07	15.60	18.94	16.89
J	16.92	14.73	21.90	18.31	17.04	20.18	18.32	18.67
K	0.77	-	0.73	0.48	2.22	0.92	1.86	1.63
L	-	-	1.09	0.48	1.48	1.83	2.48	2.07
M	0.77	-	0.36	0.32	-	0.46	-	0.15
N	-	1.79	0.36	0.80	1.48	1.38	1.55	1.48
P	0.77	0.89	1.46	1.11	0.74	0.46	0.93	0.74
R	1.54	1.34	0.73	1.11	0.74	1.83	0.62	1.04

As can be seen, Categories A, G, H and J are the text-types where exemplifying constructions with *including* are more commonly used, regardless of the period or the variety of English. By contrast, *including* is particularly unusual in fictional texts (Categories K-R). As a matter of fact, the use of exemplifying constructions with

[85] The figures here correspond to percentages.

including in the six fictional text-types together is below 6% of the total number of cases of exemplification with this marker.

As regards *included*, the extremely low number of occurrences of this marker in the material does not allow us to identify any clear tendency in its use across text-types. In the British variety, it occurs once in *LOB* in Category A, three times in *FLOB* in Categories D, F and N, and three times in *BE06* in Categories G (two occurrences) and R (one occurrence). In AmE, exemplifying constructions with *included* occur three times in the 2000s in Categories B, C and E. Nevertheless, even such a low number of examples suggests the prevalence of exemplification with *included* in formal textual categories: only 20% of the constructions with *included* as a marker occur in informal text-types.

When it comes to exemplifying constructions with *for example*, these are especially common in scientific texts (i.e. Category J) in both BrE and AmE. The predominance of *for example* in the scientific register becomes patent in Table 27 below.

These constructions are more popular in British scientific texts (where, as an average, they amount to 46.40% of the total number of relevant cases) than in their American counterparts (where the average is 34.36%). The other texts-types where *for example* is more frequent are Category G (with a similar number of examples in both varieties), Category F (more common in AmE) and Category H (more common in BrE). In AmE, exemplification with *for example* is rather common in Category E too. On the opposite extreme are, once again, fictional texts in both varieties of the language. The use of exemplification with *for example* in fiction is even lower than with *including*: if we

Table 27. Exemplification with *for example* in different text-types

CATEGORIES	BrE				AmE			
	1960s	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**	**1960s**	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**
A	4.26	0.74	0.41	1.38	5.78	3.70	4.72	4.62
B	7.80	0.74	4.96	3.83	5.20	4.12	1.29	3.39
C	2.84	2.96	1.24	2.30	3.47	2.06	1.72	2.31
D	4.96	2.22	4.55	3.68	5.20	4.94	1.72	3.85
E	4.96	4.44	3.72	4.29	12.14	9.47	9.44	10.17
F	7.09	12.22	10.33	10.41	10.98	18.11	15.45	15.25
G	9.93	14.44	15.29	13.78	13.87	14.40	14.16	14.18
H	12.77	13.70	9.50	11.94	4.62	9.88	10.73	8.78
J	41.84	47.78	47.52	46.40	34.68	31.28	37.34	34.36
K	1.42	0.37	0.41	0.61	0.58	0.82	0.86	0.77
L	1.42	-	0.41	0.46	0.58	0.41	1.29	0.77
M	-	-	0.41	0.15	-	-	-	-
N	-	0.37	0.41	0.31	-	-	-	-
P	-	-	0.41	0.15	0.58	-	0.43	0.31
R	0.71	-	0.41	0.31	2.31	0.82	0.86	1.23

consider all fictional texts together, they contain less than 3% of the exemplifying constructions with this marker in the six corpora.

Finally, differences between text-types are not so marked when the EM is *for instance*, as Table 28 below shows.

Table 28. Exemplification with *for instance* in different text-types

CATEGORIES	BrE				AmE			
	1960s	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**	**1960s**	**1990s**	**2000s**	**TOTAL**
A	2.17	1.20	2.50	1.86	3.85	8.70	10.71	7.79
B	4.35	2.41	10.00	4.65	9.62	2.17	5.36	5.84
C	4.35	2.41	7.50	4.19	5.77	-	3.57	3.25
D	2.17	8.43	17.50	7.44	1.92	4.35	5.36	3.90
E	16.30	8.43	5.00	11.16	5.77	8.70	1.79	5.19
F	15.22	12.05	10.00	13.02	9.62	17.39	23.21	16.88
G	26.09	22.89	17.50	23.26	26.92	36.96	17.86	26.62
H	3.26	4.82	-	3.26	-	8.70	1.79	3.25
J	16.30	21.69	25.00	20.00	21.15	8.70	26.79	19.48
K	3.26	4.82	2.50	3.72	1.92	-	-	0.65
L	1.09	3.61	-	1.86	3.85	2.17	1.79	2.60
M	1.09	2.41	-	1.40	3.85	-	-	1.30
N	1.09	1.20	-	0.93	-	2.17	-	0.65
P	-	-	2.50	0.47	5.77	-	-	1.95
R	3.26	3.61	-	2.79	-	-	1.79	0.65

Categories G, J and F take the lead in both varieties when *for instance* is the marker. In BrE, exemplification with *for instance* in Category E is rather common too. Remarkably, Category F (Popular lore) shows opposing trends in the two varieties under consideration. In BrE, constructions of this kind clearly become less popular from the 1960s (15.22% of the total) to the 2000s (10%). Conversely, in AmE their use in the 2000s (23.21%) doubles the frequency these constructions had in the 1960s (9.62%).

Once more, categories at the bottom of the table (i.e. fictional text-types) contain the lowest numbers of exemplifying constructions. However, in this case the total number of occurrences of *for instance* in fictional texts in relation to the total number of occurrences of this marker in the corpora is higher than with the previous markers: *for instance* is used in fictional texts in 10% of its attestations.

8.7.2. Differences in the use of exemplifying constructions according to text-type: An explanation

Section 8.7.1 showed that exemplification is more common in formal text-types (Categories A-J) than in fiction (Categories K-R) regardless of the EM involved, the period or the variety of English considered, thus testifying to the existence of the sharp divide between formal and informal text-types in the *BROWN* family of corpora mentioned by scholars such as Kjellmer (1998: 160; cf. Section 5.2.3 above). Along similar lines, the historical analysis carried out in Section 7.2.2 above suggested an uneven use of exemplifying constructions depending on text-type also in earlier stages of the language. In what follows, the reasons which may account for this marked difference in the frequency of exemplifying constructions between formal and informal text-types are discussed.

To begin with, fictional texts do not have (in principle) any kind of space limitation and, therefore, fiction writers do not need to be brief or concise in their narration. In other words, they do not need to resort to formulaic constructions like those under analysis in this dissertation through which information is condensed. Instead, they can provide examples by using other less fixed or non-formulaic constructions which fit better into this kind of texts. On the contrary, the formal texts

analysed in this study are characterised by the use of a far more accurate and concise kind of language, and the exemplifying constructions at issue here perfectly meet the needs of this type of writings.

A second reason which may condition the use of exemplification is the kind of relationship established between the author and the reader in the two groups of texts. In his research on appositional constructions, Meyer (1992) found out that "the genres of fiction and conversation contained the fewest instances of appositions [...], the genres of learned writing and press writing the most" (Meyer 1992: 98). His findings coincide with the results of the textual analysis carried out here for exemplification. He explains this difference between formal and informal text-types as follows: "appositions are most necessary in genres in which discourse participants possess a low amount of shared knowledge –in genres in which there is some need to add to the flow of discourse in the way that appositions do" (Meyer 1992: 98). In principle, given that writer and reader do not share physical space (and sometimes not even historical moment) in any kind of texts, there is apparently no relation between them, not even in fiction. However, Meyer (1992: 100) states that the relationship between reader and writer varies depending on the text-type. For example, fictional texts unfold slowly (i.e. along a considerable number of pages), thus allowing reader and writer (or narrator) to share a significant amount of knowledge of the world created in the novel. A piece of news, in turn, is much shorter and self-contained, and since there is no time to develop a relationship between reader and author, all the information needs to be presented directly.

The textual analysis carried out in Section 8.7.1 above revealed the prevalence of *for instance* in fictional texts when compared to the other EMs. The preference for this marker in fiction may be explained on account of stylistic reasons. As stated in Section

6.3.1 above, *for example* and *for instance* are almost perfect synonyms and carry out roughly exactly the same functions; that is, they introduce similar EEs and can be considered interchangeable in most cases. Nevertheless, *for example* is preferred to *for instance* in most categories,[86] except in fictional texts, where the use of the latter outnumbers the use of the former, as could be expected on account of the informal character that this EM has acquired in contemporary English. Nonetheless, the figures for fictional texts are so low that no safe generalisations can be made.

Let us focus now on the use of exemplification in the set of formal writings. Scientific texts make a prolific use of exemplification, especially when the EM is *for example*. In fact, exemplification with *for example* skyrockets in science (cf. Table 27 above). This can be explained on the basis of the concepts of "brevity, clarity, and precision" (Aaronson 1977: 4). Scientific texts tend to be rather technical and difficult to follow, with no ornamentation or superfluous comments. As a matter of fact,

> [p]lain and straightforward formulations of science have been valued since the time of Francis Bacon in the sixteenth century and in the period afterwards, during which the Royal Society was formed in England (in 1660), setting the standard for scientific discourse and investigation in Europe. Bacon urged scientists (in his day called 'natural philosophers') to concern themselves with 'things', and not with the host of elements that cluttered and obscured the science contained in much of the writing about the natural world of his day. [...] The development of a straightforward standard of scientific writing made it possible to reproduce experiments, to verify or disprove results and hypotheses, and to crystallize the substance of any piece of scientific writing. (Rabinowitz and Vogel 2009: 8)

Given that scientific texts tend to be particularly complex, the use of exemplification responds to the necessity of making the scientific discourse easier to follow. As Zillmann and Brosius (2000: 15) put it, "exemplars appear to have the capacity of

[86] It must be borne in mind that *for example* is used 1,302 times in the corpus data, whereas *for instance* occurs only 369 times.

making abstractions comprehensible –abstractions that are difficult to understand in their formal expression". In other words, examples are more graspable and easier to understand than the GE which they illustrate because they appeal to episodes which are more familiar for the reader (cf. Hyland 2007: 278). Recalling Lyons' (1989: 3) words from Section 3.2 above, examples are the "clearing in the woods" of scientific texts. Prototypical examples from scientific documents are given as (8.104) and (8.105) below. In both instances, the EEs refer to specific cases which illustrate a previous explanation (the GE), thus facilitating the comprehension of the text. By doing so, the writer helps the reader to see "through the words to the underlying phenomena and concepts" (Aaronson 1977: 4).

(8.104) The book edited by Braithwaite explains how chemical reaction with lubricants plays a major role in the effectiveness of lubricants. Titanium, **for example**, is very difficult to lubricate because of its thin inert oxide skin. (*FLOB*, J71 45)

(8.105) Broadbent (1971) cites several lines of evidence to support the view that noise influences selectivity in memory and attention. **For example**, studies of the effects of noise on the Stroop task have shown that noise may reduce the amount of interference from irrelevant colour names (e.g. Houston & Jones, 1967). Hockey & Hamilton (1970) have also demonstrated that noise aids intentional recall but impairs incidental recall, and Smith (1982) has replicated this effect using priority instructions rather than the intentional/incidental manipulation. (*FLOB*, J24 75)

Consequently, exemplification in science is useful to transmit a unique and unequivocal message (cf. Duque-García 2000: 23).

As far as the press categories in the *BROWN* family are concerned, the corpora contain two different types of journalistic texts: Category A (i.e. press: reportage), on the one hand, and Categories B (press: editorial) and C (press: review), on the other. Biber and Conrad (2009) point at the differences between journalistic genres, particularly between news report (Category A) and editorial (Categories B and C) in the

following way: "An editorial is meant to express an opinion overtly and persuade readers to that opinion. However, a straight news report is expected not to state an overt opinion but rather to report the event with as little bias as possible" (Biber and Conrad 2009: 110). Therefore, given that these three categories have different aims, they also use exemplification differently. Thus, exemplifying constructions with *including* are very common in Category A (which is the purest type of journalistic texts), but not in Categories B and C (which have a more narrative character). As seen in Section 8.7.1 above, in Category A exemplification with *including* is especially frequent in contrast to exemplification with either *for example* or *for instance*, which is more sporadic. This can be explained by considering the type of units which these EMs take: *for example* and *for instance* introduce long and complex EEs (see Sections 8.4.3 and 8.4.4), whereas *including* tends to introduce short nominal elements (see Section 8.4.1 above). A piece of news is characterised by being short, concise, to the point. In fact, the shorter the sentence, the more effective its result (cf. Heyn and Brier 1969: 12; Sizov 1981: 6-7 and Shveitser 1997: 93). In view of this, the writer needs to convey as much information as possible in the shortest space, and exemplifying constructions with *including* perfectly meet that need: being semantically heavy, they convey much information in a reduced form. Not only that, examples are also a good tool for the journalist to catch the reader's or listener's attention, to cause an impact on him/her because they are more salient than the stories which they exemplify. This is so because an image or an example is livelier than a general description (see Zillmann and Brosius 2000: 47-48).

The relatively frequent use of exemplification in other text-types is more difficult to explain. Category G includes high-quality literary texts and all the markers under analysis are frequently used here (except for *included*, which does not show a

systematic use in any of the text-types analysed). The same applies to Category E (whose texts deal with such specific topics as wood work, gardening, fishing, photography and cars, among others) and in Category F (with texts about philosophy, festivals of Europe, womanly issues, food and so on). Finally, Category H comprises a wide variety of highly formal documents of a miscellaneous nature, especially government documents, foundation reports and industry reports. Category H is, in fact, the most formal type of text included in the selected corpora. This may be the reason why only *including* and *for example* are common in this category, whereas the use of *for instance* (which is generally regarded as an informal marker) is almost non-existent. A potential explanation for the common use of exemplifying constructions in these four categories is the fact that all these texts deal with very specific topics. As a consequence, the writer needs to appeal to concrete or particular experiences so that the reader can follow the reading easily.

Finally, as far as religion is concerned (Category D), exemplification in this kind of texts is not especially frequent. As already mentioned in Section 7.2.2 above, a higher incidence of use of the EM *for example* in this text-type was, in principle, expected due to the potential relation of this marker with the medieval genre *exemplum*. However, neither the historical analysis in Chapter 7 nor the examination of the PDE data provided in this chapter reveal a recurrent use of *for example* in religion, thus failing to prove whether such relation actually exists.

In short, the different needs of the text-types under analysis in this chapter justify the uneven use of exemplifying constructions in the corpora. Formal text-types, which seek the condensation of information, favour the use of these constructions. In particular, Categories G, H and J show the highest number of exemplifying

constructions in the corpora regardless of the EM involved. Exemplification with *including* is also very common in Category A. On the contrary, fictional texts, which are not constrained by space limitations, do not need to resort to fixed exemplifying constructions, given that they can use other non-formulaic devices to provide examples. Not only that, as the story unfolds, the relationship between reader and narrator becomes closer and they come to share a greater amount of knowledge. Therefore, the writer of a fictional text does not need to explain or illustrate his/her words by means of exemplifying constructions as often as the writer of a formal text-type does.

8.8. Conclusions

Chapter 8 has provided a thorough analysis of exemplifying constructions with *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as EMs in contemporary BrE and AmE. A first approach to the data shows that *including*, *for example* and *for instance* are more frequently used as EMs than the forms *including*, *example* and *instance* in their non-EM functions, i.e. as verbs (*including*) or nouns (*example* and *instance*). In other words, the tendency identified in the historical analysis (cf. Chapter 7) for these EMs to be increasingly used over time in their target function continues at present, though their source function has by no means died out. *Included*, in turn, is scarcely used as an EM but is quite common as a (past or past participle) verb form, its source function. The data also reveal an uneven use of the markers at issue here: whereas *including* and *for example* occur with a similar frequency (1,303 and 1,302, respectively), *for instance* (369 occurrences) and, especially, *included* (just 10 occurrences) are considerably less common. These four EMs follow different paths of

development in PDE (cf. Section 8.2.1). *Including* shows a clear increasing tendency in both BrE and AmE from the 1960s to the 2000s. *For example*, in turn, first increases from the 1960s to the 1990s but then decreases again in the 2000s in both varieties. When it comes to the EM *for instance*, differences between the varieties are more conspicuous: in BrE exemplifying constructions with this marker show a clear downward trend, whereas in AmE they first decrease in the 1990s and then recover in the 2000s. Unfortunately, the low number of examples with *included* as an EM does not allow us to identify any clear trend of development in the exemplifying use of this form over the last few decades.

The most common arrangement for the units in exemplifying constructions in the corpus material is GE + EM + EE. However, this arrangement can be altered for two main reasons. First, some intervening material can appear between the GE and the EM (or, much more rarely, between the EM and the EE) (see Section 8.3.2). Second, the EM may occur in a different position (cf. Section 8.3.1). As a matter of fact, *including* is the only EM analysed in this dissertation which always comes in P1. In turn, *included* has grammaticalised in P3, whereas *for example* and *for instance* have not become fixed to any particular position in the exemplifying sequence. They predominantly occur in P1, but they can also come in P2 or P3. When they appear in P2, they usually isolate a part of the EE and emphasise it. It has also been shown that in some examples the EMs under analysis are reinforced by means of a subjectivity marker (cf. Section 8.1) or by another EM (cf. Section 8.2.2). In all the instances where two EMs co-occur, the second EM is either *for example* or *for instance*, i.e. a neutral marker. The addition of these neutral markers removes any potential nuance of emphasis conveyed by the marker occupying the first position in the pleonastic combination.

As regards the syntactic forms of the units in exemplification and the functions which they realise, two clear groups can be distinguished. On the one hand, *including* and *included* are used in constructions whose units are almost exclusively NPs (see Sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.2). An important difference exists between nominal GEs and nominal EEs: whereas NPs in the GE tend to be in the plural, NPs in the EE tend to be in the singular or provide a series of examples, that is, an enumeration. Given the high frequency of nominal elements in exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included*, these sequences carry out syntactic functions typically associated with NPs, especially those of CP, DO and subject (cf. Section 8.5.1). *Including* may occasionally link other syntactic forms, such as AdvPs, AdjPs, PPs or clauses, which function as adjuncts of various kinds. On the other hand, *for example* and *for instance* tend to link complex units, mainly sentences (see Sections 8.4.3 and 8.4.4). As a matter of fact, they link whole chunks of discourse in most of their occurrences in the corpora (cf. Section 8.5.2), something which makes these two markers functionally similar to discourse markers. It is also common for constructions with *for example* and *for instance* to have no GE overtly expressed in the sentence, especially in BrE. Although less frequently, these markers can also link NPs, and only occasionally do they link AdvPs, AdjPs, PPs, VPs and clauses, which usually function as adjuncts.

The use of punctuation is not consistent with some EMs, although certain tendencies can be distinguished for each marker in the data (cf. Section 8.6.1). Given that *including* always comes before the EE, it tends to be separated from the GE by means of a pause, which is almost always represented by a comma. Except for some sporadic examples, *including* is never separated from the EE, i.e. it is never followed by a pause. *Included*, in turn, is never preceded by a pause, but it is always followed by

one, which can be represented by a comma, a full stop or a dash. When it comes to *for example* and *for instance*, punctuation reflects the highly autonomous character of these markers and brings them closer to the category of discourse markers: they tend to be delimited by pauses (that is, a pause usually precedes and follows them), which are mostly represented by commas or full stops. Lack of punctuation before or after these markers is rare.

Finally, regarding the distribution of exemplifying constructions in different text-types in the *BROWN* family of corpora, the same categories of texts tend to favour the use of exemplification regardless of the EM, the period or the dialectal variety. Thus, Categories J (Science), H (Miscellaneous), G (Belles lettres, biographies and essays) and F (Popular lore) show, in general terms, the highest number of exemplifying constructions with any of the four EMs. In Category A (Press: Reportage), exemplifying constructions with *including* are very common too. On the other hand, exemplification of any kind is infrequent in fiction. The textual analysis shows, therefore, a clear distinction between formal text-types (where exemplification is abundant) and informal text-types (where exemplification is unusual). In general terms, the search for accuracy, clarity and, in some cases, brevity seems to be the reason behind the frequent use of exemplification in formal textual categories and its scarce presence in fiction.

9. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study has been concerned with exemplifying constructions in English. The starting point of this dissertation was a contrastive analysis between apposition (cf. Chapter 2) and exemplification (cf. Chapter 3). The inclusion of these two types of constructions within the same category is only possible if the second unit of the construction is a non-restrictive, parenthetical type of element (see Sections 2.2.1.1 and 3.3.6), which is the reason why so-called restrictive constructions are not accepted as appositional in this piece of research. The function of the second unit is to provide some extra information about the first element, commenting on it or somehow illustrating it in order for the recipient of the message to identify it, but never delimiting its meaning. In apposition, the second unit (the appositive) is a rewording of the first unit (the anchor), a synonym or, in short, an element with the same referent in the external world: coreferentiality between both units is full. In exemplification, the second unit (the EE) is an example of the first unit (the GE); therefore, coreferentiality in this case is only partial. Due to the semantic equivalence between anchor and appositive, the appositional construction can be transformed into a copular construction, or into a relative clause with a copula (see Section 2.2.2.8). In turn, given that coreferentiality in exemplification is only partial, GE and EE cannot be linked by means of a copula but by means of a verb denoting inclusion. In like manner, an exemplifying construction can only be converted into a relative clause if the verb denotes inclusion (cf. Section 3.3.5).

Section 2.2.2.3 described the type of relation between the units in apposition. On the one hand, the anchor exerts some kind of control on the appositive and also on the

other elements of the sentence. This is confirmed, for example, by verb agreement, which is established with the anchor rather than with the appositive. Another indicator of the dominant character of the anchor is the parenthetical status of the appositive, which is somehow detached from the sequence, as evinced by its tendency to be delimited by pauses. However, and rather surprisingly, the anchor can be omitted (and so can the appositive), something unexpected for the alleged head of a construction. Not only that, the two units can, at least in principle, exchange their position in the appositional sequence. However, both the omission of one of the units and their exchange in the sequence brings about certain changes to a greater or lesser extent. In exemplification, the dominant character of the GE is even more obvious than in apposition, as its referent includes the referent of the EE (cf. Section 3.3.2).

Section 2.2.2.4 was devoted to the analysis of the type of syntactic form which the units in exemplification may have. Both the anchor and the appositive are usually NPs. Nevertheless, other syntactic classes are sometimes possible, though extremely rare (cf. Section 2.2.2.4). As for exemplification, the syntactic form of its units depends on the marker used in the construction, as will be explained below.

As regards the markers used to link the units in these types of constructions, they tend to be optional in prototypical apposition but obligatory in exemplification. In central types of apposition, the use of optional markers responds to pragmatic factors (cf. 2.2.3.2). In exemplification, a link (i.e. an EM) is obligatory in order to indicate the inclusion of the EE within the GE. However, on some occasions they can be replaced by punctuation marks or by non-formulaic devices which also indicate inclusion (cf. Section 3.2). Generally speaking, both AMs and EMs tend to come between the two units which they link, that is in P1 (cf. Sections 2.2.3.3 and 6.4, respectively). This is

the only possible position for AMs like *namely* or EMs like *including*. Other markers can appear in either P1 or P3 (e.g. *that is*, *in other words*, *for example* and *for instance*). P1 is the most common position because it is very useful: when the marker occurs before the second unit, it clearly establishes where this unit begins. On the contrary, P3 is quite rare because it is potentially ambiguous: when the marker comes at the end of the second unit, nothing anticipates that the construction at issue is appositional or exemplifying until the very end of the sequence. This is one of the reasons why *included* is uncommon as an EM, as it always occupies the P3 position. Finally, *for example* and *for instance* can not only come in P1 and P3, but they can also be inserted in the middle of the EE (i.e. P2). The use of a marker in P2 responds to pragmatic reasons: when a part of the EE is separated from the rest of the EE by means of the EM, the segment occurring before the EM is undoubtedly emphasised.

This contrastive analysis between apposition and exemplification makes patent the non-prototypical status of exemplifying constructions within the appositional domain. As a matter of fact, we can only accept exemplification as a type of apposition if apposition is regarded as a non-discrete category whose components can be graded according to a scale of prototypicality (see Section 2.2.2.2).

After this review of apposition and exemplification, the dissertation then acquired a more practical nature, proceeding to the analysis of EMs, the focus of this study. My list of PDE EMs comprises the following elements: *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *like*, *such as*, *say* and *as*, although for Meyer (1992) *including* and *included* are not EMs but particularisers. Likewise, the use of *as* as an EM is rather dubious as well. As a matter of fact, neither Quirk *et al*. (1985) nor Meyer (1992) consider this form in their review of EMs. Nevertheless, among the different

meanings of *as* provided by the *OED* is that of an EM (*OED*, s.v. *as*, adv. and conj., B.III.19). With the help of the *OED* and the *MED*, the origin and earliest occurrences of all the markers listed above have been traced (cf. Section 6.1). Most of them are found for the first time in the 17th century, except for *as* and *for example*, which are already recorded in the 13th and 14th centuries, respectively, and *like*, whose earliest occurrence in the *OED* as an EM dates back to the 19th century. The *OED* and the *MED* also provide information about other forms which were used as EMs at some point in time but which no longer exist in such function in PDE. These obsolete EMs are *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose*, *suppose* and a series of phrases containing the noun *example*: *ensample*, *ensample as thus*, *ensample why*, *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example* and *exempli causa*. Other EMs, though not obsolete, are no longer productive at present, especially *par exemple* and *for the sake of example* (also *for example sake* or *for example-sake*).

Taking into account the semantic and syntactic similarities between them, I have classified PDE EMs into four groups (see Section 6.3):

- Neutral EMs (*for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*): The markers in this group introduce an example without adding any nuance of emphasis. These three forms have different degrees of formality. *For instance* has acquired a rather informal character in PDE, whereas *e.g.* is markedly formal. The most neutral of these three forms is *for example*.

- Hypothetical EMs: The only marker in this group is *say*. The EE introduced by *say* is usually presented as a hypothesis, a supposition. That is, the EE might be included in the GE, but there is no guarantee that such inclusion is a fact.

- Comparative EMs (*like*, *such as*, *as*): *Like* and *such as* share their origin as comparative forms. However, when introducing an example they do not express any comparison between two units: they indicate the inclusion of one element within the other. Some authors have condemned the use of *like* as a conjunction because its comparative and its exemplifying uses may be potentially ambiguous in some cases, although the context may help to identify the exemplifying or comparative function of *like*. Nevertheless, the informal character of *like* restricts its use to informal text-types. Another aspect which makes these two forms alike is the fact that they usually introduce integrated exemplifying sequences, unlike other EMs, which tend to introduce non-integrated EEs. *As* has also been classified in this group because, according to the *OED*, it is a reduced form of *such as*.

- Focalising EMs (*including*, *included*): *Including* and *included* are halfway between exemplification and particularisation, the two subtypes of inclusive apposition recognised by Quirk *et al.* (1985; cf. Section 2.2.2.1). As a matter of fact, for these authors they are EMs, whereas for Meyer (1992) they are particularisers. These are the two most peripheral markers in the category of exemplification because they somehow emphasise the example chosen. The main difference between these two markers is the position which they occupy in the exemplifying sequence: *including* comes in P1, while *included* appears in P3.

Evidence from the corpora and the *OED* shows that two EMs may co-occur in the same sequence (see Sections 6.5 and 8.2.2), in which case they are known as *pleonastic markers*. However, such combinations cannot be made at random. Two main

types of pleonastic markers have been identified. On the one hand, all EMs can combine with the neutral group of markers (always preceding them), that is, with *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* In this case, the combination (e.g. *including*, *for example* or *such as*, *for instance*) is motivated by the desire to remove any potential emphatic force provided by the first marker. On the other hand, forms from the sets of comparative and focalising markers can also combine with *say* (e.g. *like*, *say* or *including*, *say*). In this case, the addition of *say* aims at ascribing a certain nuance of uncertainty to the example given. Other factors may also condition the order of the EMs. *Including*, *included* and, especially, *such as* and *like* have a tight bound with their GEs. However, *say* and, particularly, *for example* and *for instance* are highly autonomous and independent. This is reflected in their mobile character in the exemplifying sequence. Not only that, they can also be pronounced in an independent tone unit. As a consequence, *including*, *included*, *such as* and *like* tend to be next to the GE to which they refer back, whereas *for example*, *for instance* and, to a lesser extent, *say* too do not need to be so close to their GEs, which explains why in a pleonastic marker they can come in second place. On other occasions, two EMs may co-occur because one of the forms is not fully grammaticalised and needs to be reinforced by another unambiguous EM. Thus, *as* was recurrently used in earlier stages of the language with emerging EMs (cf. Section 6.1.8).

The final part of this dissertation presents a corpus-based analysis of the EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*. As stated in the introduction, these four markers have been chosen because they represent the most prototypical (*for example* and *for instance*) and the most peripheral (*including* and *included*) types of EMs. At the same time, the similarities between the two items within each group are obvious. The study consists of two parts: on the one hand, in Chapter 7 a historical

analysis is carried out with data from the *HC* and *ARCHER*; on the other, in Chapter 8 the focus shifts to the present-day use and function of these forms, taking the two reference varieties of English into consideration, i.e. British and American English, as represented in the *BROWN* family of corpora. The main results and conclusions obtained from these two analyses are summarised in what follows.

The diachronic study has shown that the first occurrences of the four selected markers in the historical corpora (cf. Section 7.2) are dated somewhat later than their earliest occurrences in the *OED* (cf. Section 6.1), except for *included*, whose first attestation in the corpus material is dated 1704, 39 years before the earliest *OED* example (1743). *Including* is recorded in the *OED* in the year 1726, but it does not occur in my material until 1752, while *for example*, which is the earliest EM recorded in the *OED* (1340-70), is also the first EM found in the corpora, but only by the mid-14th century (c.1450). Interestingly, in this early example the preposition *by* is used instead of *for* (*be exsampyl*). It is not until 1551 when *for* and *example* combine in the same phrase with an exemplifying function. Finally, the first occurrence of *for instance* in the *OED* dates back to 1645 under the form *for an instance*, i.e. with the indefinite article between the preposition and the noun. 20 years later, in 1665, the marker is used for the first time in its current form (*for instance*) in my corpora.

The diachronic analysis in Chapter 7 has also shown that *including* and *for example* have gradually increased in frequency as EMs to the detriment of the other functions of *including* and *example*. Currently, *including* is more common as an EM than as a VP. As a matter of fact, since the LModE period its use almost exclusively corresponds to that of the EM (cf. Section 7.2.1). The analysis of the PDE data shows that this tendency still continues in both BrE and AmE (cf. Section 8.1). In the first

decade of the 21st century, the exemplifying use of *including* constitutes about 90% of its total number of occurrences in the two varieties. Along similar lines, the frequency of *example* in the EM *for example* also increases across time, although more moderately (cf. Section 7.2.1). In the 1960s, about 58% of the instances with *example* correspond to its exemplifying use in the phrase *for example* in both BrE and AmE, a percentage which goes up to 75% (BrE) and 72% (AmE) in the 2000s. As far as *instance* is concerned, the historical analysis shows that the non-EM use of this form was more common than its exemplifying use at any point in time, but the situation has been reversed in the contemporary language, so that at present most occurrences of the noun *instance* correspond to its use in the EM *for instance* (77%-83% in BrE and 63%-71% in AmE; cf. Section 8.1). Finally, *included* is extremely rare as an EM at any point in time in the history of the language. In fact, only one occurrence of this marker was found in the EModE period and three more in LModE (cf. Section 7.2.4), whereas in the PDE data from the *BROWN* family of corpora the EM *included* occurs just 10 times (cf. Section 8.2). The marginal character of *included* may be explained on account of positional reasons. As an EM, *included* invariably comes in P3, which may potentially trigger ambiguity since nothing establishes the beginning of the EE. The fact that *including* and *included* are so close in meaning, origin and function favours the use of the *–ing* form, which occurs without exception in the far less ambiguous P1 position. In short, the exemplifying function of *including*, *example* (in *for example*) and *instance* (in *for instance*) seems to be replacing their original uses as verbs and nouns, respectively, or, to put it differently, the target meaning of these forms predominates over their source meaning (cf. Section 4.2.1.1). *Included*, by contrast, has always had a marginal use as an EM, and its source function as a verb form has always been preferred.

Some of the occurrences of *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora and in the *OED* clearly illustrate the process of grammaticalisation (cf. Section 4) which these forms have undergone over time in order to become EMs. The main indicators of the grammaticalising character of the markers considered in Section 7.2.1 above are summarised in what follows:

- In some of its earliest instances, the sequence *for example* can be understood as either a verb complement or an EM. Examples of this kind where both the old (source) meaning and the new (target) meaning are possible correspond to the *bridging context* (Heine 2002) or *critical context* (Diewald 2002) of the process of grammaticalisation (cf. Section 4.3 above). In other cases, the noun *example* combines with the preposition *by* instead of *for*, or it occurs in the highly unusual construction *by opyn exsampyl as thus*, which contains the preposition *by*, an adjective (*open*) between the preposition and the noun, as well as the obsolete EM *example as thus*.

- As already mentioned, the diachronic analysis provides examples of other markers which were available in earlier English but which have become obsolete in the contemporary language. In ME, the markers *ensample* and *ensample as thus* were found. The *OED* and the *MED* render a larger list of obsolete EMs, some of them containing the noun *example* (*example of grace, verbi gratia example, ensample why* and *exempli causa*), others unrelated to this form (*as namely, for the purpose* and *suppose*). Although not obsolete at present, the markers *par example* and *for the sake of example* (with its variants *for example sake* and *for example-sake*) were more common in previous stages of the language.

- The *OED* is the source of two extremely interesting examples where *for instance* shows signs of ongoing grammaticalisation. In these examples (cf. (7.61) and (7.62) above), some linguistic material brings the preposition *for* and the noun *instance* apart. In one of the examples the intervening material is the indefinite article *an*, while in the other the extra element is the adjective *pregnant* ('compelling, cogent, convincing').

- Moreover, in their earliest occurrences *for example* and *for instance* frequently combine with *as*, which might indicate that these two EMs needed to be reinforced by an unambiguous EM like *as* before they fully grammaticalised.

The data used for the analysis of the PDE state of affairs belong to two varieties of English, BrE and AmE, and represent three different points in time, namely the 1960s, the 1990s and the 2000s. Overall, the study has shown that exemplifying constructions increase in frequency regardless of the EM involved: the number of exemplifying constructions with *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora goes from 724 in the 1960s to 1,176 in the 2000s. Such a rise may suggest that, when giving examples, English tends to use fixed formulas like the EMs at issue rather than non-formulaic devices. This might be related to the principle of economy in language, according to which speakers tend to make the least amount of effort possible to transmit an idea. As regards the frequency of use of the markers under analysis, in the two varieties under consideration, *for example* started as the most common EM, followed closely by *including*. In the material from the 21st century, however, they have switched positions and *including* is now the most frequent marker. *For instance*, in turn, is the third most recurrent EM in any of the three subperiods, but shows a decreasing tendency over time. Finally, *included* is scarcely used in my material.

As to the position which the selected markers occupy in the exemplifying sequence, both the diachronic and the synchronic analyses reveal that *including* always comes in P1 and *included* in P3. This is, in fact, the only difference between these two etymologically related forms. *For example* and *for instance*, however, show wider syntagmatic variability and can occur in P1, P2 and P3. Of these positions, P1 is the preferred one, since it establishes in an unambiguous way where the EE starts, thus avoiding any potential ambiguity. Avoidance of ambiguity is also the reason why P3 is the least common position of all. Finally, when *for example* and *for instance* occur in P2, they isolate a part of the EE and emphasise it.

Section 8.4 revealed enormous formal differences between the two sets of EMs. In the data analysed, *included* exclusively links nominal elements. Similarly, *including* links NPs almost exclusively (about 98% of the GEs and at least 94% of the EEs with *including* are nominal) in both BrE and AmE, regardless of the period considered. As a consequence, most exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* carry out syntactic functions related to NPs, especially CP, subject and DO (see Section 8.5.1). The main difference between NPs in the GE and in the EE concerns grammatical number: whereas the GE tends to be inflected for the plural, the EE tends to be in the singular. Additionally, the EE may also contain an enumeration of some of the items included in the GE, but never an exhaustive list. All in all, the use of these two EMs suggests that both markers have remained very close to their source form, i.e. the verb *include*. On the other hand, the most common syntactic form of the GEs and EEs connected by *for example* and *for instance* is a sentence. As a consequence, *for example* and *for instance* typically function at the supra-sentential level. The omission of the GE is common too with these two markers, especially with *for example*.

As far as the use of punctuation is concerned, *for example* and *for instance* are very frequently surrounded by pauses, normally represented by commas and full stops. In turn, a pause is always inserted after *included*, but never before it, whereas the opposite stands for *including*: a comma usually precedes *including*, while the presence of punctuation after this marker is extremely rare. Interestingly, *including* may also introduce integrated EEs, that is, EEs which belong to the same tone unit as the GE. 15 examples of this kind were found in the corpora, most of which show the same structure: "preposition + plural generic noun + *including* + EE". It must be noted, however, that even if the EEs are integrated, they are always semantically non-restrictive (see Section 8.6.2).

The results from the corpus-based study summarised in the preceding paragraphs indicate that *for example* and *for instance* are more advanced in their process of grammaticalisation than *including* and *included*. As a matter of fact, these two periphrastic EMs seem to resemble discourse markers in a number of respects. First, they introduce a wide variety of syntactic forms, but especially sentences. Second, they have not acquired a fixed position in the exemplifying sequence. Finally, they tend be surrounded by pauses, i.e. they usually have a tone unit of their own, different from that of the GE and also from that of the EE.

Finally, Section 8.7 explored the use of exemplification in different text-types. Some general tendencies can be observed regardless of the marker used. Thus, whereas formal text-types (Categories A-J) favour the use of exemplification with the four selected EMs, such constructions are scarce in fiction (Categories K-R). Such a marked difference may be explained on account of two main factors: (i) on the one hand, fictional texts do not have (in principle) space limitations, so that the writer does not

need to be concise in his/her narration and s/he can use non-formulaic devices in order to give examples; (ii) on the other hand, in fictional texts, narrator and reader come to share a considerable amount of knowledge as the story unfolds (cf. Meyer 1992: 100), in such a way that additional information on the part of the writer is not as necessary in fiction as in other text-types. In science (Category J), exemplification is very common because examples help to understand the abstract and complicated string of thoughts which they illustrate. The use of the EM *for example* clearly stands out over the other EMs in scientific writings, probably because it perfectly fits in this type of texts: it introduces long EEs where the meaning of the GE (usually a complex scientific explanation) is clarified by means of more familiar cases. In turn, exemplification in skills, trades and hobbies (Category E), in popular lore (Category F), in belles lettres (Category G) and in miscellaneous texts (Category H) is quite common too. These are all formal text-types dealing with very specific topics where examples make the comprehension of the text easier for the reader. However, *for instance* is not common in Category H, which contains the most formal texts in the corpora, probably because it is regarded as rather informal at present. Finally, the marker *including* is also very common in press reportage (Category A). This is most likely related to the fact that *including* introduces short nominal elements which condense much information in few words, and brevity and concision is precisely what a piece of news requires.

This study has aimed at shedding some light on the relation between exemplification and prototypical appositional constructions. Special attention has been paid to EMs in general, and to *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* in particular. The results obtained in this dissertation have offered some interesting insights into the category of EMs in English. Nonetheless, I am well aware that further

work has still to be done in order to obtain a more comprehensive characterisation of this group of forms as regards both their historical development and their PDE use and function. The full picture of English EMs can only be obtained with a thorough analysis of those forms which have not been considered in the present piece of work, namely *such as*, *like*, *e.g.* and *say*, and of more extensive corpus evidence from different periods and varieties of the language. This, however, must be left for future research.

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RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

El presente anexo ofrece un resumen en español de la tesis doctoral *Marcadores de ejemplificación en inglés: Aspectos sincrónicos y diacrónicos*, en la que se analizan el origen y el desarrollo histórico, desde sus primeras apariciones en la lengua inglesa hasta la actualidad, de cuatro marcadores de ejemplificación en inglés: *including*, *included*, *for example* y *for instance*. La tesis presenta un análisis pormenorizado de dichas formas, prestando atención a criterios semántico-pragmáticos y sintácticos, tomando como punto de partida la información proporcionada por diccionarios históricos y corpus diacrónicos de la lengua inglesa. La tesis examina asimismo el uso actual de las cuatro formas seleccionadas en dos variedades del inglés contemporáneo: el inglés británico y el inglés americano.

El Capítulo 1 ("Introduction") ofrece un breve preámbulo a la tesis, justificando asimismo la necesidad de llevar a cabo un análisis detallado de los marcadores de ejemplificación del inglés con el objetivo de cubrir el vacío existente en esta área de la gramática inglesa. A continuación, el Capítulo 2 ("Apposition") describe el ámbito más amplio en el que se incluyen las construcciones objeto de estudio: la aposición. Con este fin, se lleva a cabo una amplia revisión de la bibliografía especializada sobre el tema, reflexionando sobre el carácter controvertido de la aposición y poniendo de manifiesto la falta de consenso que existe en torno a este tipo de relación semántico-sintáctica. Se hace especial hincapié en la necesidad de que la aposición no conlleva una relación de dependencia entre las dos unidades que la componen, por lo que se excluyen de esta categoría las construcciones tradicionalmente definidas como *restrictivas*, en las que la segunda unidad modifica el significado de la primera, de la cual depende semántica y

sintácticamente (véanse Lee 1952: 268-269 y Acuña-Fariña 1996: 26, 55-56, entre otros). Se entiende en esta tesis que la aposición es una relación semántico-sintáctica entre dos unidades que tienen el mismo referente y desempeñan conjuntamente la misma función sintáctica. Estas unidades, frases nominales en la mayoría de casos, aparecen separadas por una pausa en el medio oral (típicamente representada por signos de puntuación en el medio escrito, en especial por comas), y pueden relacionarse mediante conectores denominados *marcadores de aposición*. Además, la primera unidad domina a la segunda desde un punto de vista sintáctico, aunque nunca delimita o restringe su significado, simplemente lo elabora. En cualquier caso, ambas unidades mantienen un alto grado de autonomía en la construcción, lo que permite tanto el intercambio de posición entre las dos unidades como la omisión de una de ellas. El capítulo 2 presenta, asimismo, una clasificación semántica de los distintos tipos de construcciones que se incluyen dentro del término *aposición*, para la cual se toman como base los trabajos de Quirk *et al.* (1985) y Meyer (1992). Se distinguen aquí tres grandes tipos de aposición: la equivalencia (que, a su vez, se subdivide en apelación, identificación, designación y reformulación), la atribución y la inclusión (que se divide en ejemplificación y particularización). De este modo, la consideración de la ejemplificación dentro del ámbito de la aposición queda justificada.

El Capítulo 3 (“Exemplification”) se centra en el subtipo de construcciones apositivas de ejemplificación. Se entiende por ejemplificación la estrategia comunicativa por la que se explica el significado de un primer término de carácter más genérico (al que he denominado *elemento general*) por medio de un ejemplo, es decir, citando uno de sus miembros (denominado *elemento ejemplificativo*; véase Hyland 2007: 270). La estructura de este capítulo no difiere de forma significativa de la del

Capítulo 2, dado que se pretende establecer un diálogo entre ambos que permita destacar los puntos en los que los casos de aposición más prototípicos (por ejemplo, *The first contestant, Lulu was, ushered on stage*) y los de ejemplificación (*They visited several cities, for example Rome and Athens*) o bien se asemejan, o bien se diferencian. La bibliografía existente en torno a la ejemplificación es muy limitada, aunque cabe destacar los trabajos de Cuenca (2001a, 2001b, 2003).

El Capítulo 4 ("Grammaticalisation") se ocupa del proceso de gramaticalización, dado que este desempeña un papel fundamental en el desarrollo histórico de los marcadores de ejemplificación objeto de estudio. Se entiende por gramaticalización el proceso mediante el cual una unidad léxica pasa a ser gramatical, o una ya gramatical se convierte en más gramatical todavía (véase Kuryłowicz 1975 [1965]: 52). La gramaticalización es un cambio global cuyos efectos son observables desde distintos puntos de vista: semántico-pragmático, sintáctico y fonológico. En el plano semántico-pragmático, se produce primero una expansión del significado (*semantic generalisation*) y posteriormente una pérdida de aquellos matices que ya no son pertinentes para el nuevo uso de la forma que se ha gramaticalizado (*semantic bleaching*; véase Hopper y Traugott 2003 [1993]: 94). Desde el punto de vista sintáctico, la gramaticalización suele ir acompañada de un proceso de *reanálisis*, mediante el cual la estructura originaria pasa a analizarse de forma diferente (véase Langacker 1977: 58). Además, como resultado de la gramaticalización, la forma que sufre este proceso pierde libertad sintagmática, es decir, pasa a ocupar una posición fija dentro de un sintagma (*fijación*; cf. Lehmann 2002 [1995]: 146). Asimismo, cuando una construcción adquiere un estatus más gramatical, la relación entre sus componentes se vuelve, por lo general, más estrecha que en contextos ajenos al proceso de gramaticalización. En la terminología de Lehmann (2002

[1995]), esta relación se denomina *cohesión sintagmática*. Una vez que el proceso de gramaticalización ha tenido lugar, la forma originaria puede desaparecer de la lengua o puede sobrevivir mostrando *divergencia* de uso con la nueva construcción gramaticalizada (cf. Hopper 1991: 24 y Hopper y Traugott 2003 [1993]: 118). Además, el elemento que se gramaticaliza tiende a perder sustancia fonológica (véase Heine y Reh 1984: 21 y Lehmann 2002 [1995]: 112, entre otros). Por último, el capítulo 4 también presta atención a los modelos propuestos por Heine (2002), Diewald (2002) y Diewald y Smirnova (2012) en relación a los distintos estadios que se pueden identificar en los procesos de gramaticalización. Estos estadios enfatizan el carácter gradual de la gramaticalización y revelan la existencia de estadios intermedios entre el significado y función originales de una forma y los resultantes del proceso de gramaticalización, que permiten la interpretación de ambos significados y usos dependiendo del contexto.

El capítulo 5 ("Methodology") se ocupa, como su propio título indica, de distintas cuestiones metodológicas previas al trabajo de corpus propiamente dicho. Se detallan en primer lugar los diccionarios consultados para determinar el origen de los marcadores de ejemplificación seleccionados y las diferencias de uso y significado entre ellos. Destaca aquí el *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, el diccionario etimológico de la lengua inglesa por excelencia. A continuación, el capítulo ofrece una descripción pormenorizada de los corpus usados y de las razones que justifican su elección. Finalmente, la última sección del capítulo da cuenta de los procedimientos seguidos en las búsquedas y explica algunos problemas encontrados durante las mismas.

El Capítulo 6 ("English exemplifying markers") inicia la parte de corte más práctico de la tesis doctoral. En él se utiliza el *OED* como principal fuente de información para rastrear el origen de los distintos marcadores de ejemplificación del

inglés, tanto de los que se utilizan hoy en día (*including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *such as*, *as*, *like* y *say*) como de los que se emplearon en estadios anteriores de la lengua pero han caído en desuso (*to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose*, *suppose* y distintas fórmulas con el sustantivo *example*, como *ensample*, *ensample as thus* o *ensample why*, entre otros). En cuanto a los marcadores en uso en la lengua de hoy en día, se ofrece una clasificación que atiende a criterios semánticos y sintácticos, que resulta en el establecimiento de los siguientes tipos: neutrales (*for example*, *for instance* y *e.g.*), hipotéticos (*say*), comparativos (*such as*, *as* y *like*) y focalizadores (*including* e *included*). A continuación, se analizan las posibles combinaciones de estos marcadores en una misma secuencia (los denominados marcadores *pleonásticos* en términos de Pahta y Nevanlinna 2001: 23) y las razones que explican dichas combinaciones. Se demuestra que todos los marcadores pueden combinarse con *for example*, *for instance* y *e.g.*, dado que estos son los marcadores semánticamente más neutros. Su uso pleonástico responde a la intención de eliminar cualquier matiz enfático que hayan podido aportar los marcadores que los preceden. A su vez, *including*, *included*, *like*, *as* y *such as* también pueden preceder a *say*. En estos casos, la adición de *say* pretende aportar una connotación de duda al ejemplo proporcionado.

Con el Capítulo 7 (“Historical development of *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* as EMs”) se inicia el estudio de corpus de los cuatro marcadores de ejemplificación seleccionados: *including*, *included*, *for example* y *for instance*. La elección de estas formas se debe fundamentalmente a que son representativos de los marcadores más prototípicos (*for example* y *for instance*) y más periféricos (*including* e *included*) de la categoría de ejemplificadores del inglés. Así, se pueden establecer fácilmente dos pares de formas entre las que existen similitudes notables (esto es,

including e *included*, por un lado, y *for example* y *for instance*, por otro), que, a su vez, difieren de forma considerable del otro par de marcadores. Se pretende, por tanto, analizar las similitudes y diferencias de uso y significado dentro de cada par y entre pares.

Los datos analizados en el Capítulo 7 son de carácter histórico e ilustran la evolución de los marcadores desde sus primeros usos hasta 1999, con datos extraídos del *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (*HC*) y del *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (*ARCHER*). El primero de los marcadores en aparecer en mis datos es *for example*, cuyo primer ejemplo en el corpus data de mediados del siglo XV. Se trata, sin embargo, de un uso no gramaticalizado del marcador en el que el sustantivo *example* se combina con la preposición *by* (*be exsampyl*) en lugar de la preposición *for*. Esta combinación solo era posible en los primeros estadios del proceso de gramaticalización del marcador, pero no en inglés contemporáneo. No es hasta un siglo más tarde (1551) cuando *for example* aparece por primera vez como marcador de ejemplificación en el corpus. De igual modo, el ejemplo más antiguo del marcador *for instance* en el material analizado (1645) muestra una forma no gramaticalizada, dado que el artículo indefinido aparece intercalado entre la preposición y el nombre: *for an instance*. Veinte años más tarde, se recoge el primer uso de *for instance* en su forma actual como marcador de ejemplificación. Por lo que respecta a *including* e *included*, ambos se usan por primera vez con función ejemplificativa en el corpus en el siglo XVIII, en los años 1704 y 1752 respectivamente.

El análisis diacrónico realizado en el Capítulo 7 demuestra asimismo que *including* y *for example* han aumentado gradualmente su frecuencia como marcadores de ejemplificación en detrimento de las otras funciones de *including* y *example*. En la

actualidad, *including* es más común en su uso como marcador de ejemplificación que como núcleo de una frase verbal. De hecho, desde aproximadamente el siglo XVIII su uso corresponde casi en exclusiva al de ejemplificador. En esta misma línea, la frecuencia de *example* en el marcador *for example* también se incrementa a lo largo del tiempo, aunque de forma más moderada. En lo que se refiere a *instance*, el análisis histórico muestra que el uso de esta forma en su función nominal es más común que su uso ejemplificativo en la combinación *for instance*, aunque la situación se ha invertido en el inglés contemporáneo, en el que la mayor parte de las apariciones del sustantivo *instance* corresponden a su uso como marcador en la frase preposicional *for instance*. Por último, *included* es extremadamente raro como marcador de ejemplificación en todos los períodos analizados. El carácter marginal de *included* puede deberse a la posición que ocupa este marcador en la secuencia ejemplificativa: de forma obligatoria, *included* sigue al elemento ejemplificativo al que se refiere, lo que puede resultar potencialmente ambiguo. Dada la gran similitud semántica entre *including* e *included*, se tiende a usar la forma *–ing*, que aparece siempre prepuesta al ejemplo al que se refiere, evitando así cualquier posible ambigüedad.

Algunos usos de *for example* y *for instance* en los corpus y en el *OED* ilustran de forma clara el proceso de gramaticalización que estas formas han sufrido a lo largo del tiempo para convertirse en marcadores de ejemplificación. Así, en algunos de sus primeros usos la secuencia *for example* puede entenderse bien como un complemento del verbo que la precede o bien como un marcador de ejemplificación. Construcciones de este tipo donde tanto el significado originario como el nuevo significado son posibles corresponden al *bridging context* (Heine 2002) o *critical context* (Diewald 2002) del proceso de gramaticalización. En otros casos, el sustantivo *example* combina con la

preposición *by* en vez de *for*, o aparece incluso en la construcción *by opyn exsampyl as thus*, una combinación extremadamente inusual que contiene la preposición *for*, un adjetivo (*open*) entre la preposición y el sustantivo y el marcador obsoleto *example as thus*. De igual modo, también hay ejemplos del uso no gramaticalizado de *for instance*, en los que la preposición y el sustantivo no aparecen en yuxtaposición (*for an instance* y *for pregnant instance*).

El estudio diacrónico revela asimismo una tendencia de los marcadores de ejemplificación objeto de estudio a aparecer en combinación con *as* en sus primeros usos. Dado que el *OED* recoge ejemplos de *as* como marcador de ejemplificación desde el siglo XIII, es posible que este uso pleonástico se deba al deseo de reforzar y de marcar de forma inequívoca los nuevos marcadores emergentes, que podían resultar ambiguos en su nueva función ejemplificativa.

El Capítulo 8 ("*Including, included, for example* and *for instance* in PDE") examina el uso actual de los cuatro marcadores seleccionados en seis corpus de la denominada "Brown family of corpora", teniendo en cuenta dos variedades del inglés (la británica y la americana) y tres momentos diferentes en el tiempo, esto es, las décadas de 1960, 1990 y la primera del siglo XXI. En términos generales, el estudio demuestra que la frecuencia de las construcciones ejemplificativas aumenta en inglés contemporáneo, independientemente del marcador utilizado en la secuencia: el número de construcciones ejemplificativas con *including, included, for example* y *for instance* en los corpus pasa de 724 en 1960 a 1.176 en los primeros años del siglo XXI. Este incremento parece sugerir que, a la hora de proporcionar un ejemplo, el inglés tiende a utilizar fórmulas fijas que incluyen alguno de los marcadores de ejemplificación analizados en esta tesis en lugar de otras construcciones menos gramaticalizadas. En

cuanto a la frecuencia de uso de los marcadores, en las dos variedades dialectales consideradas *for example* comienza siendo el marcador más frecuente, seguido de cerca por *including*. El material del siglo XXI muestra, sin embargo, que la situación se ha invertido. *For instance*, a su vez, es el tercer marcador más común en cualquiera de los tres subperíodos analizados, pero muestra una tendencia a disminuir su frecuencia. Por último, los corpus utilizados contienen tan solo diez ejemplos de *included* como marcador de ejemplificación.

En cuanto a la posición que ocupan los marcadores seleccionados en la secuencia ejemplificativa, tanto el análisis diacrónico como el sincrónico revelan que *including* siempre aparece precediendo al elemento ejemplificativo, mientras que *included* siempre se coloca detrás de él. Esta es, de hecho, la única diferencia entre estas dos formas etimológicamente relacionadas. *For example* y *for instance*, sin embargo, muestran una variabilidad sintagmática más amplia y pueden aparecer antes, después o incluso en el medio del elemento ejemplificativo. De entre estas posibilidades posicionales, la inicial es la preferida por ambos marcadores, ya que establece de forma inequívoca dónde comienza el ejemplo, evitando así cualquier posible ambigüedad. Por ese mismo motivo, la posición final (potencialmente la más ambigua) es la menos frecuente. Por último, el uso de *for example* y *for instance* en el medio del segmento ejemplificativo responde a motivos pragmáticos: al dividir la secuencia en dos partes, aísla una parte de la misma y la destaca.

Si atendemos al tipo de unidad sintáctica que introducen estos marcadores, se ponen de manifiesto diferencias notables entre *including* e *included*, por un lado, y *for example* y *for instance*, por otro. En los datos analizados, *included* une exclusivamente elementos nominales; por su parte, *including* tiende a enlazar asimismo frases

nominales, pero puede unir también otros tipos de unidades sintácticas, como frases adjetivales o cláusulas nominales, aunque en menor medida. Por consiguiente, la mayoría de las construcciones en las que *including* e *included* son marcadores de ejemplificación desempeñan funciones relacionadas con las frases nominales, especialmente aquellas de complemento de preposición, sujeto y objeto directo. Por otro lado, los datos analizados muestran que *for example* y *for instance* unen una gama más amplia de formas sintácticas, aunque se detecta en el uso de estos marcadores una clara tendencia a unir oraciones. Por ello, la principal función de las construcciones ejemplificativas con *for example* y *for instance* no se encuentra en el nivel de la frase; se podría decir que su principal función es discursiva, dado que unen fragmentos de discurso. La omisión del elemento genérico también es común con estos dos marcadores, especialmente con *for example*.

En lo referente al uso de la puntuación en las construcciones ejemplificativas objeto de estudio, *including* casi siempre aparece después de una pausa e *included* antes de ella, lo que indica que, por norma general, ambos marcadores pertenecen a la misma unidad tonal que el elemento ejemplificativo al que acompañan. *For example* y *for instance*, sin embargo, tienen una mayor autonomía tonal y suelen aparecer delimitados por una pausa: en la mayoría de los ejemplos, estos marcadores inician una oración (es decir, aparecen después de un punto) y van seguidos de una coma. Curiosamente, *including* también puede introducir elementos ejemplificativos integrados, es decir, elementos ejemplificativos que pertenecen a la misma unidad tonal que el primer elemento de significado más general. Los corpus analizados contienen 15 ejemplos de este tipo, la mayoría de los cuales muestran la misma estructura: "preposición + sustantivo genérico en plural + *including* + EE". Cabe señalar, sin embargo, que incluso

si el elemento ejemplificativo está integrado, en ningún caso es semánticamente restrictivo.

Los resultados del estudio de corpus resumidos en los párrafos anteriores indican que *for example* y *for instance* están más avanzados en su proceso de gramaticalización que *including* e *included*. De hecho, los dos marcadores perifrásticos mantienen una cierta similitud con los denominados marcadores del discurso. En primer lugar, introducen una amplia variedad de formas sintácticas, especialmente oraciones completas. En segundo lugar, no han adquirido una posición fija en la secuencia ejemplificativa. Por último, tienden a estar delimitados por pausas, es decir, por lo general, aparecen en una unidad tonal propia diferente de la del elemento ejemplificativo al que acompañan.

Por último, el estudio de corpus también explora el uso de la ejemplificación en diferentes tipos de texto. En términos generales, se observa un uso mayor de construcciones ejemplificativas en los géneros más formales, mientras que en los textos de ficción la ejemplificación es mucho menos frecuente. Esta marcada diferencia puede deberse a dos factores principales. Por un lado, los textos de ficción no tienen (en principio) las limitaciones de espacio que pueden tener otros tipos de texto, especialmente los textos periodísticos, por lo que el escritor puede ser menos conciso en su narración y usar construcciones menos gramaticalizadas a la hora de proporcionar ejemplos. Por otra parte, en los textos de ficción el narrador y el lector llegan a compartir mucha información a medida que avanza la trama, por lo que el narrador no necesita aportar información adicional para hacerse entender (cf. Meyer, 1992: 100). Por el contrario, en los textos científicos la ejemplificación es muy frecuente, porque los casos concretos (es decir, los ejemplos) ayudan a entender la argumentación compleja y

abstracta propia de este tipo de textos. El marcador *including* también es muy común en los reportajes periodísticos. Esto se debe, probablemente, al hecho de que *including* introduce elementos nominales breves que condensan toda la información en pocas palabras. La brevedad y la concisión son precisamente rasgos característicos del género periodístico.

Como se pone de relieve en el resumen precedente, esta tesis propone una nueva aproximación al concepto de aposición, centrándose en un tipo de construcciones apositivas que han recibido escasa atención en la gramática inglesa, la ejemplificación. El análisis se centra en cuatro formas en concreto: *including*, *included*, *for example* y *for instance*, prestando atención a su origen y posterior evolución histórica, así como al uso y funciones que tales formas desempeñan en inglés contemporáneo. Los resultados obtenidos en la tesis ofrecen datos novedosos y reveladores acerca de la categoría de los marcadores de ejemplificación en inglés.

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SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

This supplement provides a summary in English of the dissertation *Exemplifying markers in English: Synchronic and diachronic considerations*. The dissertation analyses the origin and development of four exemplifying markers (EMs) in English, namely *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*, since their earliest occurrences to the present day, on the basis of evidence provided in various historical dictionaries and corpora. The dissertation also considers the present-day use of these four EMs in two varieties of English: British English and American English.

Chapter 1 ("Introduction") sets the scene for the dissertation and justifies the necessity to conduct a detailed study of EMs in English in order to fill the gap which exists in this particular area of English grammar. Next, Chapter 2 ("Apposition") describes the wider domain in which the constructions under study are included: apposition. Taking Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Meyer (1992) as a starting point, the complex domain of apposition is approached. The description starts by pointing at the lack of agreement among linguists when it comes to defining what apposition is. In this dissertation, apposition is understood as a type of semantic-syntactic relationship between two units which have the same referent and carry out the same function. These units, noun phrases in most cases, are separated by a pause in speech (represented by different punctuation marks in writing) and can be linked by means of an appositional marker. The first unit in an appositional construction, or *anchor*, is syntactically dominant over the second unit, or *appositive*, which is somehow detached from the sentence. However, the appositive never delimits or restricts the meaning of the anchor; it only explains it (see Lee 1952: 268-269 and Acuña-Fariña 1996: 26, 55-56, among

others). In addition, the two units show a high degree of autonomy, which allows their exchange in the sequence as well as the omission of one of them in turn.

Chapter 2 also presents a semantic classification of the various types of constructions which can be classified as *apposition* taking Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Meyer (1992) as a basis. Three subtypes of apposition are recognised: equivalence (which is further subdivided into appellation, identification, designation and reformulation), attribution and inclusion (which can be of two types, namely exemplification and particularisation). Considering exemplification within the domain of apposition is therefore justified.

Chapter 3 ("Exemplification") presents a similar structure to Chapter 2, but the focus here shifts to exemplification. The main aim of this contrastive analysis is to establish a dialogue between the two types of constructions in order to highlight the points where prototypical apposition (e.g. *The first contestant, Lulu, was ushered on stage*) and exemplification (e.g. *They visited several cities, for example Rome and Athens*) either approach or diverge. Exemplification is here defined as the communication strategy by which the meaning of a term (which I call *general element* or *GE*) is explained by means of an example, that is by citing one of its members (the *exemplifying element* or *EE*; see Hyland 2007: 270). The list of references consulted for exemplification (see, for example, Cuenca 2001a, 2001b and 2003) is rather short in comparison with that consulted for apposition, given the scarce number of publications available to date on the former topic.

Chapter 4 ("Grammaticalisation") is concerned with a different topic which proves relevant to the changes undergone over time by *including*, *included*, *for example*

and *for instance* in order to become EMs: grammaticalisation. When an item undergoes grammaticalisation, it moves from lexical to grammatical or from less grammatical to more grammatical (cf. Kuryłowicz 1975 [1965]: 52). Grammaticalisation is a global change which may affect the different linguistic components: semantics, pragmatics, syntax and phonology. At the semantic-pragmatic level, there is first an expansion of meaning (*semantic generalisation*) and then a loss of those shades that are no longer relevant to the new use of the form that undergoes the process of grammaticalisation (*semantic bleaching*; see Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 94). Typically, a process of grammaticalisation entails reanalysis, which means that the original structure is interpreted in a different way (see Langacker 1977: 58). Moreover, as a consequence of the process of grammaticalisation, the grammaticalising form loses its syntagmatic freedom, that is, it comes to occupy a fixed slot within a syntagm (*fixation*; cf. Lehmann 2002 [1995]: 146). Furthermore, when a given construction acquires a more grammatical status, its constituents usually become tighter, i.e. the relationship or connection between them is closer than in non-grammaticalising contexts. In Lehmann's (2002 [1995]) terminology, this relationship is called *syntagmatic cohesion* or *bondedness*. After the process of grammaticalisation, the source form may disappear from the language or it may survive showing *divergence* of use with the target construction (cf. Hopper 1991: 24 and Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 118). In addition, the grammaticalising element tends to lose phonological substance (see Heine and Reh 1984: 21 and Lehmann 2002 [1995]: 112, among others). Finally, attention is also paid in the chapter to the models proposed by Heine (2002), Diewald (2002) and Diewald and Smirnova (2012) as regards the various stages identified in grammaticalisation. These emphasise the gradual character of the process and reveal the

existence of intermediate phases between the original and the resulting meanings and functions of the grammaticalising item.

Chapter 5 ("Methodology") contains a description of the material used in the practical part of the dissertation. First, the dictionaries consulted to determine the source of English EMs are listed. In this respect, the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* proves to be an essential source of information. The chapter then proceeds to a detailed description of the corpora used and the justification for their choice. Finally, the last section of the chapter explains the procedure followed for the analysis of the data, together with some of the main problems and difficulties encountered during the analysis itself.

Chapter 6 ("English exemplifying markers") opens the practical part of the dissertation. In this chapter, the *OED* is used as the main source of information to trace the origin of the following present-day English EMs: *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *such as*, *as*, *like* and *say*. Some forms which were used in earlier stages of the language with an exemplifying function but which have become obsolete at present are also considered in this chapter. These forms include *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose*, *suppose* and a set of formulas with the noun *example*, such as *ensample*, *ensample as thus* or *ensample why*, among others. As for current markers, a classification is established according to semantic-pragmatic and syntactic criteria. The following categories of EMs are proposed: neutral (*for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.*), hypothetical (*say*), comparative (*such as*, *as* and *like*) and focalising (*including* and *included*). Next, the possible combinations of these markers in one and the same construction (denominated *pleonastic markers* by Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23) are examined. As shown in the chapter, all markers can combine with *for example*, *for*

instance and *e.g.*, because these are semantically the most neutral markers in the set. The pleonastic use of these forms may reflect the intention on the part of the speaker/writer to eliminate any potential emphatic nuance provided by the markers that precede them. In turn, *including*, *included*, *like*, *as* and *such as* may also precede *say*. In such cases, the addition of *say* may respond to the speaker's/writer's intention to provide a connotation of uncertainty on the example chosen.

The corpus-based study starts with a diachronic analysis in Chapter 7 ("Historical development of *including, included, for example* and *for instance* as EMs") with data from the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal* (*HC*) and *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (*ARCHER*). The EMs *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance* have been chosen for this study because they represent the most prototypical (*for example* and *for instance*) and the most peripheral (*including* and *included*) types of EMs. At the same time, the similarities between the two items within each group are obvious.

The diachronic analysis shows that the first occurrences of the four selected markers in the historical corpora are dated somewhat later than their earliest appearance in the *OED*, except for *included*, whose first attestation in the corpus material is dated 39 years before the earliest *OED* example (1704 and 1743 respectively). The first EM found in my data is an occurrence of *be exsampyl* (mid-15th century), which shows the noun *example* in combination with a preposition other than *for*, namely *by*. This was possible only in the early stages of the process of grammaticalisation of the marker, but is no longer attested in present-day English. It is not until a century later (1551) that *for example* first appears as an EM in its current form. Similarly, the first occurrence of *for instance* in the corpus material (1645) also shows the non-grammaticalised status of the

marker, since the indefinite article intervenes between the preposition and the noun: *for an instance*. As for *including*, it is not found in my material until 1752.

The data also reveal that *including* and *for example* gradually increase in frequency through history as EMs to the detriment of the other functions of *including* and *example*. As a matter of fact, *including* is almost exclusively used as an EM since the 18th century. *Example*, which is also more common in the corpora in the EM *for example* than as the head of a noun phrase, increases more moderately over time. As far as *instance* is concerned, the historical analysis shows that the non-EM use of this noun was more common than its exemplifying use in the phrase *for instance* until the end of the 20th century, when most occurrences of the noun *instance* correspond to its use in the EM *for instance*. Finally, *included* is extremely rare as an EM at any point in time in the history of the language. The marginal character of *included* may be explained on account of its position. As an EM, *included* invariably comes after the EE, which may potentially trigger ambiguity, since nothing establishes the beginning of this unit. The fact that *including* and *included* are so close in meaning, origin and function favours the use of the *–ing* form, which occurs without exception in the far less ambiguous initial position (i.e. before the EE).

Some of the occurrences of *for example* and *for instance* in the corpora and in the *OED* clearly illustrate the process of grammaticalisation which these forms have undergone over time in order to become EMs. Thus, in some of its earliest instances the sequence *for example* can be understood as either a verb complement or an EM. Examples of this kind where both the old (source) meaning and the new (target) meaning are possible correspond to the *bridging context* (Heine 2002) or *critical context* (Diewald 2002) of the process of grammaticalisation. In other cases, the noun *example*

combines (as already mentioned) with the preposition *by* instead of *for*, or it occurs in the highly unusual construction *by opyn exsampyl as thus*, which contains the preposition *by*, an adjective (*open*) between the preposition and the noun, as well as the obsolete EM *example as thus*. Along similar lines, examples of the EM *for instance* with linguistic material intervening between the preposition and the noun (such as *for an instance* and *for pregnant instance*) are also attested.

The diachronic study also reveals a tendency to use the selected EMs in combination with *as* in their earliest occurrences. Given that the *OED* provides examples of *as* used as an EM since the 13th century, the addition of this form may be seen as a strategy to reinforce the emerging EMs, thus avoiding any potential ambiguity which may derive from the incipient use of the forms under analysis as markers of exemplification.

Chapter 8 ("*Including, included, for example* and *for instance* in PDE") focuses on present-day English exemplifying constructions. The data used for this chapter, which have been taken from six corpora of the Brown family, belong to two varieties of English, British English and American English, and represent three different points in time, namely the 1960s, the 1990s and the 2000s. Overall, the study shows that exemplifying constructions increase in frequency regardless of the EM involved: the number of exemplifying constructions with *including, included, for example* and *for instance* in the corpora goes from 724 in the 1960s to 1,176 in the 2000s. Such a rise may suggest that, when giving examples, English tends to use fixed formulas like the EMs at issue rather than non-formulaic devices. As regards the frequency of use of the markers at issue in the two varieties, *for example* starts as the most common EM, followed closely by *including*. In the material from the 21st century, however, these two

markers have switched positions. *For instance*, in turn, is the third most recurrent EM in any of the three subperiods analysed, but shows a decreasing tendency over time. Finally, *included* is scarcely used in my material.

As to the position which the selected markers occupy in the exemplifying sequence, both the diachronic and the synchronic analyses reveal that *including* always comes before the EE and *included* always occurs after it. This is, in fact, the only difference between these two etymologically related forms. *For example* and *for instance*, however, show wider syntagmatic variability and can occur before, after, as well as in the middle of the EE. Of these three possibilities, initial position is the preferred one for both markers, since it establishes in an unambiguous way where the EE starts, thus avoiding any potential ambiguity. In turn, when *for example* and *for instance* occur in the middle of the EE, they isolate a part of it and emphasise it.

Section 8.4 reveals enormous formal differences between the two sets of EMs. In the data analysed, *included* exclusively links nominal elements. Similarly, *including* links NPs almost exclusively (about 98% of the GEs and at least 94% of the EEs with *including* are nominal) in both British English and American English, regardless of the period considered. As a consequence, most exemplifying constructions with *including* and *included* carry out syntactic functions related to noun phrases, especially those of complement of a preposition, subject and direct object. The main difference between noun phrases in the GE and in the EE concerns grammatical number: whereas the GE tends to be inflected for the plural, the EE tends to be in the singular. Additionally, the EE may also contain an enumeration of some of the items included in the GE, but never an exhaustive list. All in all, the use of these two EMs suggests that both markers have remained very close to their source form, i.e. the verb *include*. On the other hand, the

most common syntactic form of the GEs and EEs connected by the markers *for example* and *for instance* is a sentence. As a consequence, *for example* and *for instance* typically function at the supra-sentential level. The omission of the GE is common too with these two markers, especially with *for example*.

As far as the use of punctuation is concerned, a pause is always inserted after *included*, but never before it, whereas the opposite stands for *including*: a comma usually precedes *including*, while the presence of punctuation after this marker is extremely rare. This means that *including* and *included* typically belong to the same tone unit as their EEs. In turn, *for example* and *for instance* are very frequently surrounded by pauses, normally represented by commas and full stops in writing, which evinces their highly autonomous character. Interestingly, *including* may also introduce integrated EEs, that is, EEs which belong to the same tone unit as the GE. 15 examples of this kind are attested in the corpora, most of which show the same structure: "preposition + plural generic noun + *including* + EE". It must be noted, however, that even if the EEs are integrated in such cases, they are always semantically non-restrictive.

The results from the corpus-based study summarised in the preceding paragraphs indicate that *for example* and *for instance* are more advanced in their process of grammaticalisation than *including* and *included*. As a matter of fact, these two periphrastic EMs seem to resemble discourse markers in a number of respects. First, they introduce a wide variety of syntactic forms, but especially sentences. Second, they have not acquired a fixed position in the exemplifying sequence. Finally, they tend be surrounded by pauses, i.e. they usually have a tone unit of their own, different from that of the GE and also from that of the EE.

Finally, some general tendencies can be derived from the use of exemplification in different text-types in the corpora regardless of the marker used. Thus, whereas formal text-types favour the use of exemplification with the four selected EMs, such constructions are scarce in fiction. Such a marked difference may be explained on account of two main factors: (i) on the one hand, fictional texts do not have (in principle) space limitations, so that the writer does not need to be concise in his/her narration and s/he can use non-formulaic (longer) devices in order to give examples; (ii) on the other hand, in fictional texts, narrator and reader come to share a considerable amount of knowledge as the story unfolds (cf. Meyer 1992: 100), in such a way that additional information on the part of the writer is not as necessary in fiction as in other text-types. In science, exemplification is very common because examples help to understand the abstract and complicated string of thoughts which they illustrate. The use of the EM *for example* clearly stands out over the other EMs in scientific writings, probably because it perfectly fits in this type of texts: it introduces long EEs where the meaning of the GE (usually a complex scientific explanation) is clarified by means of more familiar cases. Finally, the marker *including* is also very common in press reportage. This is most likely related to the fact that *including* introduces short nominal elements which condense much information in few words, and brevity and concision are precisely what a piece of news requires.

As shown in the above summary, this dissertation proposes a new approach to the concept of apposition by focusing on one particular appositional type which has received little attention in English grammar, namely exemplification. The analysis focuses on four specific EMs: *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*, paying attention to their origin, development and Present-day English use and functions All in

all, the results obtained in the dissertation offer revealing new insights into the category of EMs in English.

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